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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XIV.

EDITOR.

THE WORSHIPFUL CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, F.S.A., LL.M., M.A.,

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

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Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society.

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MEETINGS HELD BY THE SOCIETY, 1895-6, FOR READING PAPERS AND MAKING EXCURSIONS.

1. CARLISLE: Two days' excursion along the Roman Wall.
   Gilsland, Birdoswald, Appletree, Coombe Craig, Lanercost Priory - - Aug. 8, 1895
   Brampton, Hare Hill, Walton, Castlesteads, Newtown, Bleatarn, Stanwix, &c. - Aug. 9, 1895

2. FURNESS ABBEY.
   Furness Abbey, Pile of Fouldrey - - Sept. 23, 1895
   Stainton Hall, Bolton Chapel, Hawkfield, Urswick, Pennington, Lindal, Dalton Church and Castle - - - Sept. 24, 1895

3. PILGRIMAGE ALONG THE ROMAN WALL.
   First Day—Carlisle, Kirkbride (by rail), Bowness, and back to Carlisle - - June 22, 1896
   Second Day—Carlisle, Stanwix, Drawdykes, Bleatarn, Hare Hill, Lanercost Priory, Naworth Castle, Gilsland (by rail) - June 23, 1896
   Third Day—Naworth (by rail), Hare Hill, Coombe Craig, Gilsland, Willowford, *Caervoran*, Walltown Crags, back to Gilsland - - - - June 24, 1896
   Fourth Day—Walltown Crags, Nine Nicks of Thirlwall, *Aesica*, Winshields, Steelrig, Hotbank, Bardon Mill, Gilsland - June 25, 1896
   Fifth Day—Haltwhistle, Housesteads, Tower Tye, Walwick Chesters, *Cilurnum*, Chollerford - - - June 26, 1896
   Sixth Day—Hill Head, *Hunnum*, Halton Castle, Rutchester, *Vindobala*, Heddon-on-the-Wall, Denton Hall, *Condercum*, Newcastle and Wallsend - - June 27, 1896

4. CONISTON: Torver Church, Peel Island - Sept. 10, 1896
   Coniston Old Hall, Broughton-in-Furness, Stone Circle on Swinside, Broughton Tower and Church - - - Sept. 11, 1896

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In Memoriam.

REV. H. WHITEHEAD, M.A.,
Vicar of Lanercost.

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B. SCOTT & SON, CARLISLE, PHOTOGRAPHERS.

CHAP-BOOK BLOCK FROM SOULBY'S OFFICE, PENRITH.

ART. I.—*On the Collection of Chap-Books in the Bibliotheca Jacksoniana, in Tullie House, Carlisle, with some remarks on the History of Printing in Carlisle, Whitehaven, Penrith, and other north country towns.* By THE PRESIDENT, CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Communicated at Lake Side, Windermere, June 13, *and at Douglas in the Isle of Man, Sept.* 24, 1894.

HALLIWELL, in his valuable Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, defines a Chap-book, as "A little book printed for the purpose of being sold to hawkers." Slater in his "Library Manual" says it is "A small book or pamphlet carried about for sale by hawkers," and he instances "Last dying speeches and confessions, as familiar examples of Chap-books." But it must not be supposed that Chap-books are nothing but "dying speeches and confessions," or that dying speeches and confessions form a large class of Chap-books; Mr. R. H. Cunningham, in his book called "Amusing Prose Chap-books" p. 7,* divides the *Litteratura Vulgi*, or Chap-books, into the following classes:—(1) Historical, (2) Biographical, (3) Religious, (4) Romantic, (5) Poetical, (6) Humorous, (7) Fabulous, (8) Supernatural, (9) Diabolical, (10) Legendary, (11) Superstitious, (12) Criminal, (13) Jest-books, &c. Of these classes Mr. Ashton considers the strictly religious to be the smallest in number, an opinion in which the present writer is hardly disposed to agree; much however, depends upon what Mr. Ashton means by "strictly religious." Judging from the number of chap-books devoted thereto, the supernatural and the superstitious must have had great charms for readers; while old

* London: Hamilton, Adams & Co.; Glasgow: Thomas D. Morrison, 1889.

romances

1186
15

romances, handed down from days anterior to printing, had great popularity, but the poetical and humorous had the greatest predominance. Collections of ballads or songs, form an enormous class under the name of "Garlands," having generally on their title-page the words :—

A GARLAND
OF
NEW SONGS.

These "Garlands" may sometimes be dated by the inclusion therein of a song by some well known author,* or referring to some public event, such as a naval or military victory, but the imprint of a Chap-book, as a rule, only says "Printed in this present year." Tales of Adventure are not uncommonly the subjects of Chap-books and in a recently published list of books upon Morocco, issued by the Geographical Society, it is stated that :—

Up to 1820 most of our information about Morocco was derived from Christian captives, who had been taken and held in slavery of the most grinding description: many of them are of great value and extreme pathos, mostly hawked as chap-books for the benefit of the returned slave."

A writer in an American publication says :—†

The chap-book *per se* may be regarded as a later seventeenth century product. It first made its appearance as a distinct branch of a literary tree soon after the Commonwealth period, when those numerous obscure presses that had been busily disgorging floods of broadsides and pamphlets *pro* and *con* the great questions of the day, found, when these questions were settled, no other usefulness left them than to supply with lighter material, that appetite for reading

* Such as Dibden, Burns, Campbell, or the local poets Anderson, Ewan Clark, and Relph.

† Mr. Howard Pyle in "Chap-book Heroes" printed in "Harper's New Monthly Magazine" vol. 81. 1890.

matter

matter which they had excited in the masses. All manner of old and popular stories, tales, quips, jests, and facetiæ (oftentimes totally unfit for nineteenth century reading) were collected and crystallized into a cheap folk-literature, fit for the fireside and the rush-light. For disseminating this mass of popular publications no one was so well fitted as the chapman.

So much was this the case, that many of the early chap-books have as their *imprint*, "Printed for the Company of Flying Stationers," also "Walking Stationers." The chap-book is generally found printed upon a sheet of coarse grey paper, folded so as to make a little stitched book, generally of eight pages, but some extended to twenty-four pages; these were known in the trade as "twenty-fours," and gradually superseded the eight page books. Chap-books were illustrated with rude and hideous pictures printed from well worn wood blocks, which have been used over and over again, and frequently applied to the most inappropriate subjects, Robinson Crusoe being sometimes used for the Prodigal Son.* Many of the blocks that are used to illustrate Chap-books have previously done duty in Criminal Histories, in a Cock Robin series, and in the Cries of various towns, such as the Cries of London, of York, of Banbury, &c. Some have done duty with black letter tracts and ballads: as for instance I have seen a block of the field of Flodden, which originally appeared with an account in black letter of the battle, doing duty with a chap-book. Large stocks of these wood blocks, many of great antiquity, were passed on by

* In a collection of chap-books with the imprint of "Glasgow: printed for the booksellers," we have found the same block, a divine in black gown, bands and wig, doing duty as "the Rev. John Welch, minister of the Gospel at Ayr," as "Thomas Wilcocks, author of Choice Drops of Honey from the Rock Christ," as "Donald Cargill who was executed at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 26th July, 1680," as Dr. Isaac Watts, and as Mahomet! After this one is not surprised to find in the same collection that William the Conqueror and William Wallace, are represented by the same portrait, and that Dick Turpin, the famous highwayman, is dressed in the garb of a Turk, loose jacket, drawers, and turban, and is armed with a scimitar.

descent

descent or purchase from one jobbing printer in London or the provinces to another. Thus Mr. Edwin Pearson writes:—

In 1708 John White, a citizen of York, established himself as a printer in Newcastle-on-Tyne, bringing with him a stock of quaint old cuts, formerly his father's at York, where he was sole Printer to King William, for the five northern counties of England. He entered into partnership with Thomas Saint, who on the death of John White, at their Printing Office in Pilgrim Street, succeeded in 1796 (*sic*)* to his extensive business as Printer, Bookseller and Publisher. In this stock of wood cuts were some of the veritable pieces of wood engraved or cut for Caxton, Wynken de Worde, Pynson, and others down to Tommy Gent—the curious genius, historian, author, poet, wood cutter and engineer, binder and printer of York . . . . . Thomas Saint about 1770, had the honour of introducing to the public, the brothers Thomas and John Bewick's first efforts in wood-engravings, early and crude as they undoubtedly were. They are to be found in Hutton "On Mensuration," and also in various children's and juvenile works, such as Æsop's and Gay's Fables. †

The Bewicks also did cuts for other printers of chap-books, and for Newbery's series of "little chap-books for masters and misses," such as Goody Two Shoes, and Tommy Trip, both of which were written by Goldsmith.‡

The principal factory for them (chap-books), and from which nine-tenths of them emanated, was No. 4, Aldermary Churchyard, afterwards removed to Bow Churchyard, close by. The names of the proprietors were William and Cluen Dicey—afterwards C. Dicey only—and they seem to have come from Northampton, § as in

* White died 1769. See Halliwell's Fugitive Tracts and Chap-books, vol 29, Percy Society p. 77.

† "Banbury Chap-books and Nursery Toy Book Literature of the 18th and early 19th centuries," by Edwin Pearson. London: Arthur Reader, 1 Orange Street, Bloomsbury, W.C. 1890. The date 1796 in the quotation must be a misprint for some date anterior to 1770. For the history of printing in Newcastle prior to the establishment of John White, see two Articles in the *Archæologia Aeliana*, second series, vol. VI. p. 225, by J. Hodgson Hinde, and vol. VII. p. 271, by James Clepham. From about 1666 to 1708 there was no resident printer in Newcastle.

‡ Banbury Chap-books and Nursery Toy Books, &c., pp. 2 and 30.

§ This was certainly so; in the British Museum is a unique specimen of a Northamptonshire chap-book: it is "The Life of Jonathan Wilde, Thief Taker General of Great Britain and Ireland, and the *imprint* is "*Northampton*; Printed by W. Dicey, 1725"; see Northamptonshire Notes and Queries.

"Hippolito

"Hippolito and Dorinda," 1720, the firm is described as Raikes and Dicey, Northampton . . . . From Dicey's house came nearly all the original chap-books. . . . . Unscrupulous booksellers, however, generally pirated them very soon after issue, especially at Newcastle, where certainly the next largest trade was done in this class of books. The Newcastle editions are rougher in every way, in engravings, type, and paper, than the very well got up little books of Dicey's. . . . After the commencement of the present century reading became more popular, and the following, which are only the names of *a few* places where chap-books were published, shows the great and widely spread interest taken in their production:—Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, Kilmarnock, *Penrith*, Stirling, Falkirk, Dublin, York, Stokesley, Warrington, Liverpool, Banbury, Aylesbury, Durham, Dumfries, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Coventry, *Whitehaven*, *Carlisle*, Worcester, Cirencester, &c. And they flourished, for they formed nearly the sole literature of the poor, until the *Penny Magazine* and Chambers' penny Tracts and Miscellanies gave them their death blow, and relegated them to the book-shelves of collectors.*

The "Garlands" were run out of the market by the competition of the "Pinners-up" and Long-song-sellers. The Pinners-up used to take possession of dead walls, or the fronts of unoccupied houses, on which to affix their wares, consisting of yard long slips of new and popular songs, three slips a penny, while inside a huge open gingham umbrella they displayed a lot of cheap engravings. A favourite pitch for Pinners-up during Carlisle fairs used to be the railings of the Nisi Prius Court, opposite the Lonsdale monument, an old blanket being thrown over the rails for the display of their stock in trade. The Long-song sellers pasted three yards of songs together, and carried their wares about suspended from the top of a tall pole, crying "Three yards a penny, songs, beautiful songs, nooest songs."†

---

* *Chapbooks of the Eighteenth Century*: by John Ashton. London, Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly 1882, p. 9.

† See an article by G. A. Sala, London, "Street Ballads of the Past" in the Daily Telegraph 1894.

As

As a boy I well remember Pinners-up and Long-song men at Carlisle fairs, but I do not know if they attend now.

Akin to chap-books and distributed in the same manner by chapmen, were horn-books and battledores. The original horn book was "a single leaf containing on one side the alphabet large and small,* in black letter and in Roman, with perhaps a small regiment of monosyllables, and a copy of the Lord's Prayer: and this leaf was usually set in a frame of wood, with a slice of diaphanous horn in front, hence the name *horn* book. Generally there was a handle to hold it by, and this handle had usually a hole for a string, whereby the apparatus was slung to the girdle of the scholar."†

Shenstone alludes to the horn book in his poem of The Schoolmistress:

> Their books of stature small they take in hand,
> Which with pellucid horn secured are
> To save from fingers wet the letters fair.

From their shape they were also known as battledores. A child is represented as holding one, on the brass to Bishop Bell of Carlisle (he died in 1616), which is in duplicate—in his cathedral at Carlisle and in Queen's College, Oxford, of which he had been Provost. These horn books and battledores were superseded by little books, like chap-books, and hawked about by chapmen. To these books the names of horn-books and battledores came to be transferred, and by these names they continued to be known long after their original form and shape, and so the reasons of their names, had been forgotten. They

* The alphabet was generally preceded by a cross, whence it was called the Christ Cross Row, or Criss Cross Row, a term which was often used instead of horn book.

† The Book of Days, Chambers, vol. 1. pp. 46, 47. British Archæological Journal, vol. IX. pp. 72 and 73, illustrations.

were

were also called absies (A B C's) and their contents were increased by the addition of graces before and after meat, of morning and evening prayers, prayers for relations, and such like matter: they came to be stitched in gaudy Dutch papers of flower and fruit designs, and to command the large price of fourpence or sixpence.*

The horn book in its original form seems to have flourished down to the time of George II. Numerous as they must have been, copies are now most rare.†

But if chapmen carried about horn books and battledores from which children could be taught their letters and their prayers, they also carried about lottery papers, which would teach them to gamble: two lottery papers are in the Jackson collection. They consist of sheets of small pictures, which were cut up by children and gambled for in some way which I do not understand, the currency employed being pins, then more valuable than at the present day.

It is foreign to our purpose, and to the sphere of this Society's work, to go fully into the general history of chap-books, and their relations, the horn books and the battledores: we shall only deal with it so far as to show the introduction into the business of the local towns of Carlisle, Penrith, and Whitehaven, about the beginning of this century, or the end of the last. We purpose now to deal with the collection of chap-books in the *Bibliotheca Jacksoniana*, in Tullie House, Carlisle, and from them to show that other local towns, besides the three mentioned shared in the trade, and to give the members of this

---

* In the manuscript account books of the Archer family, quoted by Mr. Halliwell in his elaborate work on Shakespeare, occurs this entry: "Jan: 3, 1715-16, one horn book for Mr. Eyres, 00:00:02". The Book of Days, *ut ante*.

† Horn books were also made of gingerbread.

To master John, the English maid
A *hornbook* gives of gingerbread,
And that the child may learn the better,
As he can name, he eats the letter.

Prior, Alma.

Society

Society some notion of the contents of the chap-books in the collection.

The collection was formed by our lamented member, Mr. W. Jackson, F.S.A., of Fleatham House, St. Bees, and was part of the *Bibliotheca Jacksoniana*, from which, after Mr. Jackson's death, it got accidently severed, but to which it was afterwards restored through the kindness of a much interested friend.

The collection consists of 180 chap-books, issued from the various presses as follows :—

Carlisle	14
Whitehaven	17
Penrith	66
Cumberland	1
Workington	2
Wigton	1
Egremont	1
Alston	10
Kendal.....	2
Ulverston	3
Lancaster	2
Newcastle	4
Edinburgh	1
Falkirk	1
Kilmarnock	3
London	5
Derby	1
No place of printing given	30
Ditto.	10
Glasgow	6
	180

CARLISLE CHAPBOOKS IN THE JACKSON COLLECTION.

(1) C.

"A TRUE AND FAITHFUL ACCOUNT OF
THE MANNER OF
CHRIST'S
coming to
JUDGEMENT
On the LAST DAY *
Shewing in what Manner the Dead shall be raised with a particular Account of the glorious Reward of the Righteous, and likewise the Torments to the Wicked and Evil Doers."

Woodcut—A very rude one of the Resurrection: our Saviour, nimbed, is seated on a rainbow with His feet on the clouds, and His hands open, palms to the front. The sun and moon are on either side of Him, and below are two cherubims: at the bottom the dead rise naked from their graves.

The *imprint*:—"CARLISLE: Printed in the year 1770."

This booklet of eight pages is by way of question and answer of which the following are samples.

Q. Who will dread the coming of Christ?

A, The murderer, who slew his brother; the adulterer who satisfied his lust with beauty; the swearers who open the wounds of Christ; and the drunkards who drinks their bodies health while they ruin the soul.

Q. And what comfort shall such offenders find at the day of judgement?

A. Sad comfort shall they have when sentence of condemnation is passed upon them, then shall the murderer be for execution, and buried in the hottest pit in hell. The adulterer shall satisfy his lust when he lies on a bed of fire. The drunkard has enough to drink when scalding lead is poured down his throat. The swearer has enough of wounds and blood tortured (sic) his body and soul in flames.

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* It is impossible to reproduce here in facsimile the title pages of the Chapbooks in the Collection. Almost every line is in a different variety and size of type.

The

The cut is from a very worn block, which might almost be mediæval; it fits the subject of the chap-book excellently—indeed one of the answers is "Jesus Christ cometh in a terrible manner, for He rides upon the wings of the wind His seat is a rainbow, and the clouds His foot-stool." We find this block afterwards in the hands of Francis Jollie Jr, at Penrith.

(2) C.

"THE
DUKE OF GORDON'S
THREE
DAUGHTERS

To which are added:
John Uproar's Chant
The Shepherd's Complaint
Let Phillis be mine."

Woodcut:—An interior from a much worn block; two men in wigs and pigtails, and two women in mobcaps, sitting over a fire. It has no apparant connection with anything in the chap-book.

Imprint. "CARLISLE, Printed in Scotch Street, 17—" The hiatus in the date is caused by the corner of the page being worn away, but an approximate date may be got from "John Uproar's Chant," which is a dialogue between a recruiting sergeant trying to raise recruits for the war in America, and a countryman, who takes the part of the Bostonians. This chant is not likely to have been long popular, and we may refer its date, and so the date of the chap-book, to soon after the outbreak in Boston, say 1775 or 1776. "The Duke of Gordon's Three Daughters," is a favourite chap-book ballad giving the story of how Jean Gordon married, against the Duke's will, one Captain Ogilvie: for his presumption Ogilvie was reduced to the ranks, but afterwards succeeded as Earl of Northumberland. Number of pages, eight.

(3) C.

"A
GARLAND
OF
NEW SONGS

CONTAINING

CONTAINING

The Perjured Maid.
A Song in praise of Free-Masonry.
The Dublin Baker.
Jem of Aberdeen."

Woodcut:—A large fly on a small table. This fly is from an early "Cock Robin" series; a similar one is attributed to Bewick, see Banbury Chap-books; p. 20.

Imprint. "CARLISLE
Printed and Sold in Scotch Street."

Number of pages, eight.

The first song has some local character; it mentions Maryport, Great Browton, and the parson of the parish, Mr. Bell. John Bell was vicar of Bridekirk, in which parish is Great Broughton, from 1755 to 1795. The perjured maid was one Jane White, of Maryport, who jilted a sailor, named Jemmy, for a sea-captain. The Dublin Baker, is a highwayman under sentence of death.

(4) C.

"FOUR NEW
SONGS

I. A new Song, Briton's Lamentation.
II. Oxter my Laddy so Lang.
III. The Banks of Roses.
IV. The Bay of Biscay, O."

Woodcut:—A gentleman in maccaroni wig, and with three cornered hat in hand, and a lady in a sacque with a fan and a gipsy hat.

Imprint. "CARLISLE.
Printed and sold in Scotch Street."

Number of pages, eight.

Briton's Lamentation refers to the War in America.

(5) C.

"THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FROLICKSOME COURTIER
AND THE
JOVIAL TINKER."

Woodcut

Woodcut:—A rude one of St. George and the Dragon. There is a woodcut inside of a man with a bag on his back which is a copy (reversed) of a woodcut in "The Cries of York" published by T. Kendrew, Collier Gate, York. The cuts of his publication afterwards got to Banbury and appeared in "Banbury Cries," see Banbury Chap-books, p. 47.

Imprint. "CARLISLE.
Printed by F. JOLLIE—1796."

A very old collection of coarse practical jokes. 24 pages, pp. 23-24 are missing.

(6) C.

"HISTORY
OF
DORASTUS & FAUNIA
SETTING FORTH THEIR
LOVES, MISFORTUNES AND HAPPY
ENJOYMENT OF EACH OTHER
AT LAST."

Woodcuts. On the title page a hideous angel with outstretched arms stands before three seated figures engaged in animated conversation. In the text are several other cuts, as head and tail pieces to chapters:—a bird (qu. a parrot) on a stump, a ship under sail; a post-boy on horseback blowing a horn, and galloping to the right; an interior, five seated figures, two male, three female; block too worn for details of constume to be made out; another post-boy on horseback with large valise behind him, galloping to the left; a sheep; John Gilpin galloping past the Bell at Edmonton; a horse soldier of the last century in three cornered hat and jack boots; and another bird (qu. a thrush). The two birds and the sheep may have come from some pictorial alphabet; or the birds trom a Cock Robin series; the second postboy is a copy, probably by an apprentice, of a Bewick block, see Banbury Chap-books.

Imprint. "CARLISLE, PRINTED BY F. JOLLIE."

This chap-book of twenty-four pages is a romance, the history of how Pandosta, king of Bohemia, was jealous of Bellaria, his Queen, and Egistus, king of Sicily; the crimes he consequenty committed, and the happy union at last of his daughter Faunia, with Dorastus, son of Egistus. One fails to see the connection of John Gilpin with the

the story, but as "John Gilpin" was written by Cowper in 1782, this chap-book cannot have been printed earlier, and was probably printed much later, say about 1800.

(7) C.

"SIX EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS
CALLED

1. The French Cobbler.
2. The Jovial Tars.
3. Yo, heave Ho.
4. The Woodman.
5. Dear Nancy of the Dale.
6. Dull Care."

Woodcut. The same horse soldier that appears in Dorastus and Faunia, but, either it is a very bad pull, or the block is much more worn.

Imprint. "CARLISLE: PRINTED BY F. JOLLIE:" and at the end is "F. Jollie, Printer, Carlisle."

Number of pages, eight.

The French Cobbler is Pierre Savetier, who was torn from his cobbler's stall, and made a soldier, but deserted and got to London. From the allusions in it to the National Convention, and the issues of assignats this song must have originated between 1792 and 1795. It is not likely to have been long popular, so that the chap-book is probably of that date or a little later. The last song is

BEGONE, dull Care,
I prithee, begone from me!

(8) C.

"SEVEN
EXCELLENT SONGS
VIZ:

1. The Jovial Tars.
2. The Neglected Tar.
3. Jack Ratlin.
4. The Sailor's Song.
5. Sweet Poll of Plymouth.
6. The Sailor's Farewell.
7. The Wandering Sailor."

Woodcut

Woodcut. A male figure in maccaroni wig of about 1772, hat in hand, hands a letter to or receives one from, a lady in a sacque with large hat and fan.

Imprint. "SOLD BY F. JOLLIE, CARLISLE."

Number of pages, eight. Jack Ratlin is by Dibdin.

(9) C.

"AN EXCELLENT
GARLAND
CONTAINING THREE
CHOICE SONGS

1. Westmorland Lass.
2. Roger the Miller.
3. The Highland Man's Song in Praise of his Maggy, or the Bannocks of Barley Meal."

No Woodcut.

Imprint. "CARLISLE.
Printed by F. JOLLIE at the New Printing Office, Scotch Street."

Number of pages, eight.

There is nothing local about the Westmorland Lass.

(10) C.

"THREE EXCELLENT NEW
SONGS
INTITULED
I. The ULSTER TRAGEDY.
II. The SIEGE OF BELLEISLE.
III. The FARMER'S SON."

Woodcut: four capital W's, arranged within a border thus:

Imprint

Imprint. "CARLISLE.
Printed by F. JOLLIE at the New Printing Office."
Number of pages, eight.

The Ulster Tragedy is a long ballad, giving an account of the loves of Donald Maguare and an heiress of £500 a year. Donald comes nigh to be hung for abducting the heiress, but all ends well in the end. The Siege of Belleisle, is an account of that triumph of the British arms in 1761, but contains no reference to the fact that the commander of the expedition was a freeman of Carlisle, Lieutenant General, afterwards Field Marshal, Studholme Hodgson. The Farmer's Son, is a doleful tragedy of a lady who loved a farmer's son, who loved the lady's maid, Sally, whereon the lady murdered the maid and was sent to gaol, and the farmer's son to Bedlam.

(11) C.

"TWO TRUE AND REMARKABLE
STORIES.

PATIENT JOE
OR THE AWFUL DEATH OF
TIM JENKINS.

THE
POWER OF CONSCIENCE."

Woodcut:—St. George and the Dragon, a different cut to that used with No. 3.

Imprint. "Carlisle; Printed by F. Jollie and Sons."
Number of pages, eight.

Patient Joe, is a story of a pious Derbyshire collier, who always considered that everything was for the best. The Power of Conscience is a tale of a servant, who murdered and robbed his master, rose to affluence and to be a magistrate, but whose conscience ultimately compelled him to confess.

(12) C.

"A
GARLAND
CONTAINING THREE EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS

I. The

I. The Indifferent Lover.
II. Thurot's Defeat.
III. A New Song."

Woodcut. A lady and gentleman at dinner: a servant stands behind the lady and a dumb waiter is at her side. Tail piece, a butterfly.

Imprint. "Carlisle: Printed by W. HODGSON."

Number of pages, eight. The date of Thurot's defeat is 1760, see "Hume and Smollett's History of England" vol. XIII. p. 215. It was made the subject of rejoicing carried to absurdity, and was long remembered and talked about. Forty-four years after it happened Lord Nelson wrote of Captain Elliot who defeated Thurot, "His action with Thurot will stand the test with any of our modern victories." "Dictionary of National Biography." The regular troops of Thurot's squadron were sent as prisoners of war to Carlisle. "Jefferson's History of Carlisle," p. 86.

(13) C.

"THE
HISTORY
OF
BERTHA
A POEM
BY
WILLIAM McVITIE, DUMFRIES.

Attention give, while I unfold
A tragic tale, in times of old."

Woodcut. A spray of foliage.

Imprint. "CARLISLE.
Printed by B. Scott, in the Market Place."

The rest of the title page, if any, is torn off. At the end is "B. Scott, printer, Carlisle." This chap-book is a long poem about Grimus, eighty-second king of Scotland, and Bertha, a shepherd's daughter, and runs to sixteen pages.

(14) C.

"FOUR
NEW SONGS
VIZ: The

The Woodpecker.
Bold Robin Hood.
Paper'd up Hair.
Sally's Love for a Sailor."

Woodcut. A bird and tuft of grass.
Imprint. "CARLISLE.
PRINTED BY R. JOHNSTON.
Who has constantly on Sale a large and general Assortment of Religious Tracts, Histories, Children's Books, etc., etc."

Number of pages, eight, but the last leaf is gone.

The first song is the well known, "Woodpecker tapping the hollow beech-tree."

(15) C.

"THE
REFLECTOR
OR
CARLISLE ESSAYIST."

20 numbers printed 1st Feb. 4., 1818.
20 Oct. 28., 1818.
Nos. 1, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20.
Imprint. "J. JOLLIE, PRINTER, CARLISLE."

(16) C.

"THE PIONEER."
3 numbers July 1818.

Imprint.
"Carlisle: Printed and Published by R. Johnston, Market Place, to whose care all communications to the PIONEER (post paid) are to be addressed."

CARLISLE PRINTERS.

Putting to one side the Reflector and the Pioneer, we have in the Jackson collection of chap-books, fourteen printed in Carlisle, of which the earliest, which we have numbered 1, is dated 1770: no printer's

printer's name is given:* the next, No. 2, has the imprint "Carlisle printed in Scotch Street" without printer's name or other date, but internal evidence consigns it to a date about 1775 or 1776. Nos. 3 and 4, both have the imprint "Carlisle, printed and sold in Scotch Street." Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, have the name of F. Jollie, on their title page, either as printer or vendor: No. 9 has "printed by F. Jollie at the New Printing Office, Scotch Street": No 10 the same, omitting "Scotch Street," while No. 11 has the imprint "Carlisle: Printed by F. Jollie and Sons." There can be no doubt that Nos. 2, 3, and 4, though without printer's name. came from Francis Jollie's press, or from the press of some one to whose business he succeeded; and to the same press we may assign No. 1, with its imprint of "Carlisle: printed in the year 1770." This Francis Jollie, senior, must have been a successful man in business, and whatever may have been his position in 1770, he must have been in possession of capital towards the end of the eighteenth century,† for in 1794 he printed and published "Hutchinson's History of Cumberland," in two large quarto volumes:‡ on October 27th, 1798, he issued the first number of the well known "Carlisle Journal," the first newspaper published in Carlisle. The imprint is "Printed and published by Francis Jollie in Scotch Street."§ An imprint of a little later date runs "Printed by Francis Jollie in Scotch Street, and published at his Compting Office, second door in the lane‖ opposite the Town Hall."

Jollie, senior, had three sons, Francis junior, James, and Jeremiah. In 1819 the names of Francis Jollie junior, and James Jollie, superseded that of their father in the imprint of the "Carlisle Journal," and Jeremiah became the Editor. In 1827 Francis Jollie, junior, died, and the business was carried on by his widow, Margaret Jollie

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* It does not appear to have been necessary to give a printer's name until the passing of 39 Geo. 3. c. 79, s. 27, which imposed a penalty for printing any paper or book without the name and abode of printer being printed on it.

† In 1787 Francis Jollie advertised that he had *published* "an elegant family Bible with the Apocrypha, illustrated with notes and annotations, &c., 4to., in numbers at one shilling each part embellished with an elegant copperplate." The advertisement did not say whether Jollie *printed* the Bible: probably not.

‡ "The numerous woodcuts of Roman Altars and other antiquities, and the views of Wetheral Priory and Church, at pp. 168, 178, vol i. are by Thomas Bewick." See Hugo's "Bewick Collector," pp. 31, 32.

§ I should imagine that the heading to the "Carlisle Journal" was Bewick's work, but have no evidence that it is. He did for Jollie, a Bar-Bill head, of a ship, for the "Ship Inn," Allonby, kept by Jacob Coulthard; he also did a bush for the "Bush Hotel," Carlisle, kept by Thomas Wilson, and a cut of "The Howard Arms," for the Inn of that name at Brampton, kept by Thomas Bell. See Hugo's "Bewick Collector, Supplement." Thomas Bewick also engraved, about the year 1800, a five-pound bank note for the Carlisle and Cumberland Bank, and a one-guinea note for the Carlisle Banking Company.

‖ The Crown and Anchor Lane.

and

and by James Jollie, until November 1828, when the name of James Jollie disappears from the imprints of the paper, and that of Margaret Jollie appears alone until September 17th, 1831, when the firm became Margaret Jollie and James Steel. On September 17th, 1836, James Steel became the sole proprietor, and moved the paper to new premises in Peascod's Lane. At this time or a little before, the bookselling and general printing business was separated from the newspaper, and sold to S. Jefferson, who in 1838 published in the Scotch Street premises "Jefferson's History of Carlisle," in 1840 "The History of Leath Ward," and 1842 "The History of Allerdale above Derwent." Whitridge succeeded Jefferson in these premises and Messrs. Cowards succeeded Whitridge. Whitridge printed a monthly periodical called "Whitridge's Miscellany," and the Cowards printed several books of Cumberland Ballads.

It is interesting to have thus traced back the origin of the newspaper press in Carlisle to a chap-book printer of the last century.

The Jackson collection of chap-books contains three other Carlisle chap-books: one printed by W. Hodgson, one by B. Scott in the Market Place, and the other R. Johnson, who we learn from the imprint to the "Pioneer," was in business in 1818 in the Market Place. In 1804 B. Scott in the Market Place, printed "Miscellaneous Poems," by John Stagg, with some trifling Bewick blocks; see Hugo's "Bewick Collector," p. 82. The second edition was printed in 1805, by W. Borrowdale, in the Market Place, also with Bewick cuts, see *ibid* p. 84.

B. Scott was the printer of the "Carlisle Chronicle," a paper which was established in 1807 by a few gentlemen in opposition to the "Carlisle Journal," and was advertised to commence under the title of "The Carlisle Herald;" but as a *ruse de guerre*, Mr. Jollie immediately issued the prospectus of a Tuesday's paper to be called "The Cumberland Herald." It was brought out and lived some twelve or eighteen months. The "Carlisle Chronicle" had a longer run but expired in 1811. But "like a Phœnix from its ashes," the "Carlisle Patriot" arose in 1815 under a different proprietorship.* B. Scott was the first printer of the "Carlisle Patriot." The imprint on the first number, which is dated Saturday, June 3, 1815, is "Carlisle: Printed and published for the proprietors by B. Scott, in the Market Place, and circulated with the utmost expedition through this and the neighbouring counties." In 1816 the imprint is "Carlisle: Printed and published for the proprietors by B. Scott. A

* See "The Retrospect" by J. S. Lough, printed at Kendal in 1825. Lough was a printer apprenticed to A. Soulby of Penrith in 1803.

letter

letter box at the office in New Bank Lane for the convenience of correspondents." This does not, I believe, mean that B. Scott had changed his place of printing, but that though in the Market Place, its office door was in New Bank Lane.* B. Scott continued to print the "Patriot" until April 28th, 1832, when Thomas Ramsey became the printer, "at the Patriot Office, Wilson's Court, Castle Street.† B. Scott became afterwards Scott and Benson, with offices in English Street, nearly opposite New Bank Lane. B. Scott's son, Hudson Scott, was the first printer of the "Carlisle Examiner," in 1857, in Lowthian's Lane, and in that capacity was summoned to the bar of the House of Commons in 1858 for breach of privilege, arising out of the leading article written by Mr. Washington Wilkes, editor of the paper, reflecting upon Mr. Clive, chairman of the Select Committee on the Hawick and Carlisle Railway. Wilkes was sent to the clock tower to purge his offence. Later the "Examiner" was printed on the West Walls in an independent office. Scott and Benson are now represented by Hudson Scott and Sons, lithographic printers, one of the greatest industries in Carlisle.

Of W. Hodgson, I have at present no information: the solitary chap-book by which he is represented contains a song commemorating the defeat of Thurot in 1760, off the Isle of Man, by Captain Elliot, who captured Thurot's vessel, the Belleisle, and her two consorts, Thurot being killed. As the name of Thurot had become terrible to all the trading sea-ports of Great Britain and Ireland, this song was probably popular for many years after Thurot's death.

In 1797 W. Thompson of Carlisle, printed an edition of the Reverend Josiah Relph's Poems, with a Life by Thomas Sanderson, and a Pastoral Elegy on his death. This was the second edition: the first was printed in Glasgow, for Mr. Tomlinson in Wigton, in 1747.

J. Mitchell was a printer in Carlisle in 1798, and printed in that year an edition of Relph's Poems with wood cuts by Thomas Bewick, and also "Flowers of Poesy," in which he used a Bewick block from Relph's Poems. Mitchell appears shortly after this to have moved to Newcastle, where he printed "*Sans Souci*, or the Melodist which

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* The "Carlisle Chronicle" was printed in New Bank Lane. See "The Retrospect," *ante*, in which Lough mentions being engaged on the Chronicle in New Bank Lane.

† The "Patriot" used to be printed in New Bank Lane about 1848-50, subsequently in the Arcade, Lowther Street (near Parcels Post Office), and either before or after that in Bank Street, where a Tuesday's paper called "Carlisle Telegram" was started by the Perrings. Subsequently it was printed at Thurnam's before removing to its present premises.

banishes

banishes care and sorrow," with four Bewick blocks. See Hugo's "Bewick Collector," pp. 60, 64. He published other books at Newcastle.

The imprint of the "Reflector" which ran to twenty numbers and appeared in 1818 is :—

"Printed and published by John Jollie; Carlisle, to whom all communications, post paid, are to be addressed." "The Pioneer," also published in 1818, ran only to four numbers. Both these were periodicals in the nature of imitations of the "British Essayists"; the second title of the "Reflector" was the "Carlisle Essayist."*

John Irving Lonsdale, printer, started the "Carlisle Express" in 1861. It was printed up a lane in Scotch Street, opposite the present Public Markets until 1870 when it was amalgamated with the "Examiner" by Messrs. Steel Brothers of the "Carlisle Journal," who had bought both. After that the "Express" and "Examiner" was printed in English Street at the Journal Office.

WHITEHAVEN CHAPBOOKS IN THE JACKSON COLLECTION.

(1) W.

"THE CONSTANT LOVERS GARLAND IN FOUR PARTS.

PART I. Shewing how beautiful Nancy of Yarmouth fell in Love with Jemmy the Sailor.

PART II. How the Father convey'd a Letter to destroy young Jemmy his Daughter's Sweetheart.

PART III. How the Ghost of young Jemmy the Sailor appeared to Beautiful Nancy.

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* For much of the information about Carlisle printers, and particularly about the Jollies, I am indebted to the kindness of Messrs. Steel Brothers, proprietors of the "Carlisle Journal." I am also indebted to Mr. Cranston, of the "Carlisle Patriot," for help.

PART

PART IV. How the Ghosts of these two unfortunate Lovers appeared to the Boatswain, and he being tried, was hanged at the Yard-arm."

Woodcut. A male figure seated under a tree, while a female figure stands by and harangues him.

Imprint. "WHITEHAVEN.
Printed in the Year, MDCCLXXX."

Number of pages, eight.

A long and dismal ballad, the nature of which is well explained in the title: but its popularity is proved by the number of printers that included it in their chap-books.

(2) W.

"THE MERRY AND ENTERTAINING
JOKES
OF
GEORGE BUCHANAN
WHO
Was servant or Teacher to King JAMES VI. as his private Counsellor, but publicly acted his Fool. The Whole compiled in three Numbers for the entertainment of Youth."

In three PARTS.
The Eleventh Edition with Additions.

Woodcut. None, but across title page is an ornamental border, which occurs on p. 9 of Ann Dunn's edition of Thomas Hickathrift.

Imprint. "Whitehaven; Printed and Sold by A. COUTTS."

A well known and popular, but coarse story; this copy has a blue paper cover, and consists of sixteen pages.

(3) W.

"THE PLEASANT AND DELIGHTFUL
HISTORY
OF
LAWRENCE LAZY
CONTAINING His

His Birth and slothful Breeding: and also as he grew to maturity, how he served the School-Master and his Wife, the Squire's Cook, and Mr. Wheatley the Farmer, which was accounted by the laws of Lubberland, High Treason; And lastly, his Arraignment and Tryal before Sir *James Jobson* in the Town-Hall of *Never-work*, concluding with happy Deliverance from those Treasons which were laid to his charge."

Woodcut. None on title page, but there are two in the text, which are used in other chap-books by J. Dunn.

Imprint. "WHITEHAVEN.
Printed for and Sold by J. Dunn."

Number of pages, twenty-four, but the last two leaves are missing.

(4) W.

"A PLEASANT AND DELIGHTFUL
HISTORY
OF
THOMAS HICKATHRIFT."

Woodcuts. On the title page an uncouth figure of a giant, round hat or cap in hand, own hair, loose, and costume of the period of George II.

The text contains several other rude cuts, which have little to do with the subject matter, and the whole of the last page is taken up with a woodcut in three compartments: in one, two figures on horseback tilt at one another: in the second are two figures, one standing over the other, who lies upon the ground: in the third two large dogs or wild beasts charge a gaint, who thrusts a hand down each of their throats.* The cut on p. 13 is a rude reproduction of a cut of Crispin and Crispianus, from the "Shoemaker's Glory," a chap-book whose imprint is "Newcastle: Printed at the Printing Office in Pilgrim Street."

Imprint. "WHITEHAVEN
Printed and Sold by J. DUNN."

* This is a copy from the title page of "The Fameous History of the Valiant London Apprentice" whose imprint is "Newcastle: Printed in this present year." Ashton p. 227.

Several

Several names of owners are written in this copy—"Jonathan Hartley, Birkenthwaite"—"John Hartley 1803"—"John Hartley, History"—"John Hartley Book"—"Ann Hartley Book 1813." It contains twenty-four pages.

(5) W.

"The SECOND PART of
THOMAS HICKATHRIFT."

Woodcut. The same as on the last page of the first part: other cuts from the first part are reproduced in the second part equally apropos of nothing in the text. A rude cut of either Charles II, James II, or William III, crowned, robed, and vastly bewigged, does duty for the King of the story, William I. A cut of a sort of ballet dance of six figures in armour, and brandishing cutlasses represents the twenty-one ruffians in armour who attacked Hickathrift.

Imprint. There is none, but this second part is clearly from the same press as the first part with the imprint of J. Dunn. It also contains twenty-four pages.

The history of Thomas Hickathrift is one of the best known of chap-book stories; he is said to have lived in the Isle of Ely, in the time of William the Conqueror. Part I. tells how by his strength and valour he arose from a poor man's son to be Mr. Hickathrift, and Part II, how he came to be Sir Thomas Hickathrift, and died of grief for the loss of his friend Henry None-such, the Tinker. Mr. Ashton prints Part I. of the "History of Thomas Hickathrift," and says "This worthy does not seem to have been an absolute myth."*

Cunningham prints both parts. †

(6) W.

"THE
HISTORY
OF THE
KING and COBLER."

This is a chap.book of twenty-four pages, whose first and last pages are gone; it is part one of the "History of the King and

* "Chap-books of the Eighteenth Century" p. 193. London, Chatto and Windus, 1882.

† "Amusing Prose Chap-books": London, Hamilton, Adams and Co., 1889.

Cobler

Cobler," a well known chap-book story, which is given by both Ashton (p. 232) and Cunningham (p. 1). There is no imprint, but in the text are several cuts which appear in the "History of Tom Hickathrift, including the giant which did duty on the title page for Tom: it now represents the cobbler going to court. A cut of a lady and gentleman in costumes of end of 17th century, represents the cobbler and his wife Joan. What the cut really represents is a puzzle at present: above the lady's head are the letters R.M., three cherubins blow zephyrs upon the gentleman's head from the upper right corner of the cut. The letters R.M. appear on other wood blocks used by the Dunns.

(7) W.

"The SECOND PART of the
HISTORY
OF THE
KING and the COBLER."

Woodcut. The cut of a King which did duty for William I. in the "History of Tom Hickathrift."

Imprint. "WHITEHAVEN.
Printed and Sold by J. Dunn."

Number of pages, twenty-four.

(8) W.

"A
PLEASANT and DELIGHTFUL
HISTORY
OF
THOMAS HICKATHRIFT."

Woodcuts. A romantic individual playing upon a guitar. This chap-book has in the text most of the cuts from J. Dunn's "History of Tom Hickathrift," and contains twenty-four pages.

Imprint. "WHITEHAVEN
Printed by ANN DUNN, Market Place."

(9) W.

(9) W.

"THE FAMOUS AND RENOWNED
HISTORY OF
THE MEMORABLE, BUT UNHAPPY HUNTING
OF CHEVY CHACE
NEAR THE
RIVER TWEED IN SCOTLAND
TOGETHER

With the great and mortal Battle fought there between the lord PIERCY Earl of Northumberland, and his fifteen hundred English Archers, and Earl DOUGLAS with twenty hundred Scottish spearmen: in which both these Earls, with most of their men were slain."

Woodcuts. On title page half length of man in armour and full bottomed wig; star on breast and baton in right hand; qu: Marlborough: two cuts of modern sport, namely a horseman and dogs chasing a deer, and a gunner with dead hare and a dog: also two or three cuts from J. Dunn's "Tom Hickathrift," notably the ballet of six men in armour.

Imprint. "WHITEHAVEN.
Printed by ANN DUNN, Market Place.

This is a prose, not a poetical account of the celebrated hunting, and contains twenty-four pages.

(10) W.

"THE PLEASANT HISTORY OF
JACK HORNER
BEING

A truly instructive, pleasant and delightful entertainment for youth."

Woodcut. The mysterious lady and gentleman, who in the first part of the "King and the Cobbler" do duty for the cobbler and his wife Joan.

Imprint. "WHITEHAVEN.
Printed by B. N. DUNN, in the Market Place."

There is a manuscript date in this chap-book "I. Hartley, Birkenthwaite, January 26, Ann. Domini 1833."

It

It is quite clear that J. Dunn, Ann Dunn, and B. N. Dunn, followed one another, and probably in the above order, as printers in Whitehaven, starting in the last century. This chap-book is a twenty-four.

(11) W. "THE HISTORY OF
JOSEPH
AND HIS
BRETHREN
WITH
JACOB'S JOURNEY INTO EGYPT
AND HIS
DEATH AND FUNERAL."

Woodcut. Two standing figures, one with a staff.
Imprint. "WHITEHAVEN.
Printed and Sold by J. BRISCOE.
Price One Penny."

This is a long doggerel poem, which is printed in Ashton's book, from a copy with numerous cuts. Briscoe's edition has none but the one on the title-page, but it has at the end

"THE
SOLILIQUY
OF
ABRAHAM
UPON RECEIVING
THE COMMAND TO SACRIFICE
HIS
SON ISAAC."

With *Woodcut.* The Roman soldiers at the empty tomb, over which is an angel.

(12) W. "THE
LIFE and DEATH
OF
MRS. JANE SHORE
CONCUBINE TO
KING EDWARD IV."

Woodcuts

Woodcuts. On title page is a cut representing a yard or a bake-house. There are two cuts in the text, one a lady, Jane Shore, in a coach, and the other a ghastly shrouded female figure in a coffin.

Imprint. "WHITEHAVEN
Printed and sold by J. BRISCOE, in the Market Place."

A favourite subject for a chap-book, it having a moral ending in Jane Shore's unhappy death, see Ashton p. 393. This is a twenty-four.

(13) W.

"THE
WANDERING JEW
OR THE
SHOEMAKER OF JERUSALEM
Who lived when our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was crucified: and appointed by Him to live till He comes again. Together with his Travels, manner of living and what he has seen. To which is added, his true description of Christ."

Woodcut. A man with bundle on a stick, standing outside of a cottage.

Imprint. "WHITEHAVEN.
PRINTED AND SOLD BY T. WILSON, KING STREET."

The Wandering Jew is another favourite chap-book subject, but only amounts to eight pages.

(14) W.

"FOUR
NEW SONGS
CONSISTING OF

Bundle and Go.
Tars are Fortune's care.
Tom Truelove's Knell.
William and Nancy."

Woodcut. A full rigged ship under easy sail to the right.

Imprint. "WILSON, PRINTER, WHITEHAVEN."

Eight pages.

(15) W.

(15) W.

"FOUR EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS
CONSISTING OF
The Smuggler.
Blue-eyed Mary.
Old and New Fashions.
The Watery Grave."

Woodcut. A full rigged ship in the foreground: a schooner in the distance.
Imprint. "Printed by T. Wilson, Whitehaven."
An eight page chap-book.

(16) W.

"FIVE EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS
CONSISTING OF
The Death of Nelson.
Friendship and Courage.
Black-eyed Susan.
The Galley Slave.
Jessie, the Flower of Dumblane."

Woodcut. Two full rigged ships in action.
Imprint. "Printed by T. Wilson, Whitehaven."

(17) W.

"THE
DANGER
OF
EVIL COMPANY

"Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it."

No Woodcut.
Imprint. "WHITEHAVEN.
PRINTED BY T NICHOLSON, ROPER St., 1856."

WHITEHAVEN

WHITEHAVEN PRINTERS.*

THOMAS COTTON.

This is the earliest printer in Whitehaven of whom I have any record. He had his office in an old building, with an outside stone staircase, still standing in James Street, two doors on the east side of the Presbyterian Church. Here he published "The Whitehaven Weekly Courant, containing the most material advices both Foreign and Domestick." There is a number of this old sheet extant, in possession of a Whitehaven lady, being No. 6, dated January 20, 1736.

The "Courant" was a small sheet, measuring sixteen inches by twelve inches, three columns to a page, and it had four pages. It had not a scrap of local news, save half-a-dozen lines of shipping, and it had but one advertisement on the back page, which set out "Doctor Daffey's Elixir, the most famous cordial in the world, truly prepared in London, and appointed to be sold by Thomas Cotton, at his printing house in James Street." Patent medicines were sold by nearly all the old printers in Whitehaven, and were extensively advertised in their papers. The old "Pacquet" office was a perfect druggist's shop, having an extensive stock of medicines for both man and beast. The "Courant's" imprint ran, "Whitehaven: Printed and sold by Thomas Cotton. Also sold at Edward Holm's shop in Kendal. At both places advertisements are taken in." How long the "Courant" lasted I am unable to say. I know of nothing else that came from Cotton's press. I have two works "The Acts of the Rebels," written by an Egyptian, of which a fac-simile was printed some years ago, and "A Compleat History of the Rebellion, from its first Rise in 1745, to its total Suppression at the glorious battle of Culloden, in April, 1746." Both were written by James Ray of Whitehaven, and printed in the middle of the last century, possibly here; but they bear no printer's name. They might have been printed by Cotton, though one edition of Ray's Rebellion was printed at Bristol. I have no record of Cotton's death.

ALLASON FORSTER.

This printer printed at Whitehaven in 1772 for the author, J. Thompson, "Poems on several occasions. Moral and entertaining."

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* For the following interesting notes on Whitehaven printers I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. W. S. Harper of the "Cumberland Pacquet."

JOHN

JOHN DUNN.

This old printer, who was quite a character in his way, flourished in Whitehaven during the latter half of last century. He was a son of William Dunn, a basket maker, at Harris Moor, near the town, whose death is recorded in the "Pacquet" in May, 1791, in his 65th year. His place of business in the Market Place was latterly a flour mill. In "Old John and I," (which was a series of seven letters in a defunct Whitehaven paper in 1850, contributed by three old local worthies whom I knew, Messrs. Randleson, druggist, Gibson, postmaster, and Pearson, painter, and of which the late Mr. William Jackson, F.S.A., had a copy), Dunn's shop is described as an old white house, with gable ends to the street, behind the old Market Cross; and "old Dunn, the bookseller," who was within their recollection, is described as "famed for his powdered pigtail, his wooden leg, and his manufacture of red ink." The box plan for the Theatre was kept at his shop. One of the innumerable droll woodcuts which used to abound at the "Pacquet" office, represented the proclamation of Lammas Fair at the Market Cross, by the Steward of the Manor, with John Dunn, powdered pigtail and wooden leg complete, surveying the scene from the doorway of his shop, while the youth of the town are busy pelting the spectators with burrs. John appears to have been engaged in various lines of business. In September, 1776, Messrs. Skelton and Co. advertise that they keep the "Cumberland Register" Office at Dunn's shop. It contemplated a business as varied as it was tremendous, including not merely the provision of servants, but insurances on lives, ships, freight, goods, &c.; the putting out of boys and girls as apprentices; the buying of annuities; and it was further notified—"advowsons and chaplaincies bought and sold, livings exchanged, and curates provided." They were also agents for the State Lottery; and they further undertook to provide lodgings and diet in a reputable family for those who wanted such convenience. The partnership lasted two years, when the parties had a lively shirmish in the "Pacquet," Skelton and Co., warning those indebted to them not to pay any money to J. Dunn, one reason being that Dunn was an officer in the Customs. In January 1778, an announcement appears in the "Pacquet" to the effect that John Dunn "formerly a bookseller in this town," had taken the sacrament at Church, previous to taking the oath at Cockermouth Sessions, as deputy Searcher at the port of Whitehaven. Dunn had another amusing squabble in 1777 with a rival printer, in the Market Place, Joseph Briscoe, as to which of them was the *bona fide* agent for a quack medicine, called the Panacea. The public are told, not to care whether John Dunn did or did not pay £13 for his receipe

receipe, but to be careful to ask for "Brisco's Panacea." The earliest work I have of Dunn's is printed in 1766, and is entitled "The Propositions which occasioned the late Difference and Separation in the Baptist Church at Whitehaven, with a Comment on the propositions, by John Johnson. Also with Comment considered, by John Huddleston." It is a very dry theological disquisition, a small quarto running to 216 pages. It is nicely printed. I fancy Dunn died in the early years of the century, though I have not come across the date. I will eventually. After his death, amongst his effects were found three fine copper-plates, giving views of Whitehaven. One was the large well-known plate, from the painting made by Matthias Reed in 1738. The others were a smaller reproduction of the plate, and the view of the town in 1642. What became of the larger one is not known. But the other two passed into the hands of John Robinson, a printer in Lowther Street (of whom I will have a short note), and at his death, in or about 1865, they were acquired by Mr. James Robertson (Messrs. Callender and Dixon), who has them yet, and only lately, printed from them. They still give excellent impressions. The large view now brings 20/- or 22/-, and the plate would be very valuable if it could be recovered.

BROWNRIGG N. DUNN, AND A. DUNN.

I am disposed to think these were relations of John Dunn, and carried on his business after he got his place in the Customs. I have a work,

"The literary life of William Brownrigg, M.D., F.R.S.; to which are added an account of the coal mines near Whitehaven; and observations on the means of preventing epidemic fevers, by Joshua Dixon, M.D.,"

who was the founder of the Whitehaven Dispensary, which subsequently developed into the present Infirmary. It is dated 1801. "Dunn, Whitehaven," is given as one of the agents for its sale; and it purports to be printed by Brownrigg N. Dunn. It is remarkably well printed, in large type. I have also a chap-book

"Printed by B. N. Dunn, in the Market Place." "The Pleasant History of Jack Horner, being a truly instructive, pleasant, and delightful entertainment for youth."

It is illustrated with an old block of a lady and gentleman in the height of fashion: temp. James II. or thereabouts. It bears no date.

JOSEPH

JOSEPH BRISCOE

Was the printer of the "Cumberland Magazine, or Whitehaven Monthly Miscellany," which appeared during the years 1778, 1779, and 1780, perhaps later. I have several copies. The price was 4d. The "Miscellany" gives a little English History, a political summary, short stories, biographical sketches (one deals with Governor Johnstone, who was a visitor to Sir James Lowther, at the Castle, and one of his nominees in Parliament), and a number of essays in imitation of those in the "Spectator." There is nothing local in them. In April 1783, Briscoe announced by advertisement in the "Pacquet" that he was leaving Whitehaven to retire to a printing office and stationery warehouse at the Isle of Man, in favour of his brother, Francis Briscoe. He thanks the public for the patronage given to the "Cumberland Magazine" during its publication, and the peculiar honour that was paid to his more recent proposals for printing the "Whitehaven Communicator" and "Briscoe's Weekly Advertiser," which the termination of the late war rendered abortive. I have not come across the date of his death.

FRANCIS BRISCOE.

I have only one work from Francis Briscoe's Press, but it is somewhat of a curiosity. It is entitled

"The Surprising Adventures of John Roach, Mariner, of Whitehaven, containing a genuine Account of his cruel Treatment during a long captivity amongst savage Indians, and imprisonment by the Spaniards, in South America, with his miraculous Preservation and Deliverance by divine Providence; and happy Return to the Place of his Nativity, after being thirteen years amongst his inhuman Enemies. Whitehaven: Printed by F. Briscoe, in the Market Place. Price Six-pence."

It is got up in the Robinson Crusoe style. From a paragraph in the "Pacquet," in May 1783, it appears that Roach was really a Whitehaven sailor, and that he had just arrived in his native town after an absence of fifteen years, during twelve of which he had been a prisoner amongst the Mexican Indians, and Spaniards. The latter laid hold of Roach as a spy, and he passed ten years in different dungeons, ultimately getting his liberty through the friendship of the Governor of Cuba. This, rather a large sized chap-book, consists of sixty-four pages, and is not very legibly printed in large type. I have no record of Francis Briscoe's death.

ALEXANDER COUTTS.

Was another of last century's printers in Whitehaven, and like the rest of the fraternity, had his house and office in the Market Place.

Encouraged

Encouraged by the success that attended the "Cumberland Pacquet,' Coutts, in October, 1776, started the "Cumberland Chronicle and Whitehaven Public Advertiser." Its price was 3d. It was a rather larger sheet than the "Pacquet," but it contained less matter, and was not so well got up, while the advertisements were fewer. It lived until July 15, 1779, when it suddenly ceased, with the following valedictory address :—

"The Editor presents his Dutiful Respects to the Public, and particularly to those Gentlemen who have so liberally countenanced and supported The Cumberland Chronicle, and takes the liberty to inform them that he will not have it any longer in his power to receive their favours in behalf of a Weekly Newspaper, as the Chronicle will not be again published :—and as it might be deemed Presumption in the Publisher were he to trouble his readers with a circumstantial detail of the various circumstances which have led him to discontinue it, let it suffice to say, that the disadvanges he was labouring under in endeavouring to establish it, have been many.

The Publisher being fully sensible of the many obligations he lies under, takes this opportunity to return his most grateful thanks to his friends and the public in general for all past favours."

I had a copy of the last "Chronicle," but unfortunately lost it in a fire at my house. Coutts seems to have done a good deal of printing. I have just one of his books,

"The Academic Reader, containing Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, selected from the most elegant writers in the English language. Intended to assist in acquiring the happy talent of graceful Reading; to kindle in the breast a noble ambition to rival illustrious characters, to promote generous sentiments, and to awaken a sensibility of whatever is most amiable in life. By H. Ward, Schoolmaster in Whitehaven. Printed by Alexander Coutts for the author, 1789."

It is a small quarto of 228 pages, very well printed in large type. Ward had his school in Howgill Street, and periodically took to the boards with his scholars, when they played "Cato" and other classical tragedies at the Theatre. Coutts died at his house in the Market Place, March 1795.

W. MASHEDER.

I know nothing of this printer beyond the fact that I have a book of his, very well printed, entitled

"The Navigator's Companion; or Mariner's Compendious Pocket Book. Containing everything necessary in the Art of Navigation. Whitehaven: Printed by W. Masheder. Price bound Two Shillings."

From

From the prefatory notice dated "Whitehaven, March 30, 1754," it would appear that Masheder wrote as well as printed this work. It has two or three old fashioned tail and head pieces.

ALLASON FOSTER.

This old printer turned out some high-class work. I have

"The Universal Navigator; or a Comprehensive Treatise of Navigation, by William Chambers, Teacher of Mathematics, Whitehaven: Printed by Allason Foster, for the Author, 1774."

It is a well printed quarto of 446 pages, with a deal of tabular work in it. Another book of Foster's printing is

"An Epitome of the Elements of Italian Book-keeping, selected and compiled from the best modern systems. By Edmund Fitzgerald, Writing Master and Accountant in Whitehaven. Whitehaven: Printed by A. Foster, for the Author, 1771."

It was printed by subscription, and the list of subscribers' names is given. They were gathered from Whitehaven, Maryport, Cockermouth, Broughton, Scotland, the Isle of Man, and Ireland. There are two or three quaint head and tail pieces, and an original frontispiece by the author. There are more names of subscribers, and "Mr. John Dunn" is among the Whitehaven lot.

W. STUART.

I know even less of this printer, who called his establishment "The Shakespeare Press." All I have is the cover of a sixpenny part of

"The History of Lives and Actions of the most famous Highwaymen, Street Robbers, &c., &c., to which is added a genuine Account of the Voyages and Plunders of most noted Pirates. By Captain Thomas James Hamilton. Entered at Stationers' Hall. Whitehaven: Printed at The Shakespeare Press, by W. Stuart, for Hutton Watson, No. 89, Scotch Street."

No date.

THE WARES.

John Ware and Son were for half a century or more the best known printers in the town. They carried on business at No. 26, King Street, now the premises of the Whitehaven Conservative Association. Where the Wares came from I am unable to say. The late Mr. Wm. Jackson, F.S.A., once told me, he thought they belonged

belonged to York; but there is no proof of the fact. They were in business here, however, for some years before they began the "Cumberland Pacquet" in October, 1774. The senior Ware died in 1791, and his son, also a John Ware, died in April 1820. The latter was a man of considerable attainments. He was an excellent classical scholar. He produced part of a translation, in blank verse, of Telemachus, intending to finish it if he had had leisure. He was also a fairly good poet, and had Shakespeare, Milton, and other eminent poets, we learn, at his fingers' ends. He was the founder and first secretary of the Whitehaven Subscription Library, established 1797, and still extant.

The younger Ware, who was from the first the promoter, editor, and manager of the "Pacquet," printed the first translation into the Manx language, of the Bible and Prayer Book. 1777, Mr. Ware also printed for the Bishop of Sodor and Man, "A Short and Plain Instruction for the better understanding of the Lord's Supper"; the English and Manx being given in parallel columns. It is well printed. The MS. of the Manx Bible translation, it may be stated, was nearly lost at sea. It came across to this town from the Island in charge of the Rev. M. Kelly, a Church clergyman at Douglas in 1770. The vessel was driven ashore near Harrington when Parson Kelly broke open his trunk, secured the precious MS, and, holding it up with one hand, swam ashore with the other. Kelly was afterwards Domestic Chaplain to the Duke of Gordon, and tutor to his son, the Marquis of Huntly.

The Wares printed a number of books of all kinds, including one written by the elder, "The European Pilot; or Practical Navigator's Pocket Companion." They were the agents for the State Lottery in 1770. The younger Ware was never married. When he died, he left the "Pacquet" to his housekeeper, Ann Jordan; and the following year it passed into the hands of Mr. Robert Gibson. An old friend of mine well remembered Mr. Ware, who, he told me, was an honest, kindly man; and a useful citizen. The elder Ware and his wife, with their son, were interred in one grave in St. Nicholas Churchyard, where there is a stone to their memory.

ROBERT GIBSON.

Mr. Gibson, who was originally an apprentice to the younger Ware, was a Westmorland man. He succeeded to the "Pacquet" and business, a few months after the death of the younger Ware, and from that date till 1857, when he retired and sold both to Mr. Robert Foster, of York, he showed much energy, enterprise, and business ability in extending the business. Mr. Gibson was a voluminous printer

printer, and also did an all-round business in bookbinding, lithographing, &c. Mr. Gibson was one of the pioneers of railway development in West Cumberland, and one of the promoters of the first gas company in Whitehaven, and the owner of pencil works at Keswick. He printed the first edition of "Litt's Wrestliana," in 1823, using for the front page a block of two wrestlers taking hold that had been in existance for a generation or two before. The work was published at 2/6. Mr. Gibson after a hard-working and useful life, died at his residence in Lowther Street, in December 1878, in his eighty-ninth year.

THOMAS WILSON.

Thomas Wilson began business early in the present century, in a shop at the corner of Lowther Street and King Street, and died in 1851 or 1852. He printed chap-books, playbills, placards, songs, plays, Chrismas Mummers, and "The Musical Folio," a royal 8vo sheet which came out in numbers, irregularly, with the words of popular songs, as sung at the Theatre and elsewhere. Wilson was also a bookseller and stationer, and the Theatre box plan lay at his shop, he being the accepted printer and stationer in the town for the profession.

WILLIAM WILSON.

This was a son of Thomas Wilson. He began business after his father, in King Street, and followed on much the same lines, though at first on a very modest scale. He afterwards removed to a large corner shop in the same street, opposite the shop his father had occupied. Wilson adopted Owenite tenets in 1842, and in consequence the mob attacked his shop and smashed a number of panes. This induced him to issue a handbill, in which he promised for the future to give up the propagation of socialist views, and his example was followed by a number of other Whitehaven tradesmen, who hastened to disclaim all connection with the "Owenites." Public feeling was much excited against Wilson by a ridiculous rumour to the effect that a female apprentice in his wife's employ, had burnt her Bible, in order to please her mistress. Wilson retired to Distington, about thirty years ago, where he died, sixteen or seventeen years ago perhaps. He was a pleasant old man, with a most retentive memory, and fond of conversation and anecdote. I knew him very well, and much enjoyed his company. His son followed the same business (less the printing), and he in turn was succeeded by *his* son; so that four generations of Wilsons in direct succession have been in this trade in Whitehaven.

JOHN

JOHN ROBINSON.

This was perhaps the leading printer in Whitehaven in the earlier part of the century. His shop was in Lowther Street, where he turned out a great number of books of all kinds, including (in 1832). "Mrs. Bowne's Reminiscenses." In this book Robinson advertises the views of Whitehaven already referred to, "printed from the original copper-plates," which had belonged to John Dunn. He printed a large selection of religious works, with plans, portraits, and drawings. Robinson failed in Lowther Street, and retired to Strand Street, where his friends fitted up a small printing office for him. He died in poverty in 1865. All his books are well printed.

THOMAS NICHOLSON.

Thomas Nicholson set up in business in Roper Street, after leaving James Crosthwaite's, where he served his apprenticeship. He had a small but very select stock of type, and he was an excellent all-round printer, most ingenious, and very tasteful. He could lithograph, engrave, stereotype, or do anything, with credit. He printed playbills and songs. He is at present at Leeds, where he carries on a stereotyping and electrotyping business. He invented an improved stereotyping apparatus, which he works and travels with. I presume he is alive still; it is years since I saw him or heard about him.

WILSON LEDGER.

Wilson Ledger was the editor of the "Whitehaven Gazette," a Whig paper that lasted about seven years, and was bought up about 1821, by Mr. Peter Hodgson, Lord Lonsdale's legal agent, and amalgamated with the "Pacquet." The paper was the property of the younger Adamson, a solicitor in the town. James Steel afterwards of the "Carlisle Journal" went to Whitehaven in 1819 as printer and publisher of the "Gazette," at the age of 22, and he remained there until 1826. For several years he did most of the editorial work and wrote most of the original matter for that paper. He went to the "Kendal Chronicle" in 1826, and remained there till 1828, when he returned to the Jollies at Carlisle. The "Gazette" was printed in the old Temperance Hall (now a bonded warehouse), in Hicks Lane. Its price was 7d. It was only a small sheet. I do not think there was any job printing done. The paper never paid.

JAMES COOK.

James Cook was a printer at 14, Queen Street, about fifty years ago. I do not think he did much. The only thing I have of his, is an eight page pamphlet "A Speech on the Constitutional and Legal Formation

Formation of Society in the nature of Political Unions, delivered by George Wheatley, Attorney-at-law, to certain of the labouring classes met for the purpose of forming a Patriotic Association at Whitehaven." Wheatley was an eccentric character. He addressed a pamphlet to the Earl of Lonsdale in 1832, in which taking objection to some strictures in the "Pacquet," he said he agreed with that paper (which had called him a Radical) that the word "Radical" and "scoundrel" were synonymous; and he asked Lord Lonsdale how he supposed anyone who esteemed him (Lord Lonsdale) would feel if after his death, he (Wheatley) were to call him an old scoundrel.

PENRITH CHAP-BOOKS IN THE JACKSON COLLECTION.

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(1) P.

"THE
NEW GAME AT CARDS
OR A
PACK OF CARDS
Changed into complete and perpetual
ALMANACK
In a Dialogue between a
NOBLEMAN and his SERVANT.
First, shewing the use of an Almanack by the Quarter:—Secondly, shewing the Weeks and Days of the year:—And thirdly, shewing the exact Number of Hours and Minutes in a year—Fourthly, shewing how it may be converted into a Prayer Book, with curious Remarks on the Knave. The whole adapted to the Entertainment of the Humourous, as well as to the Satisfaction of the Grave, Learned and Ingenious. The like never before published."

Wood

Wood block. A swan to the left: probably a Bewick block.
Imprint. "*A. Bell, Printer, Penrith* 1797."
An eight page chap-book.

(2) P.

"TRIAL
OF
JOHN HATFIELD
FOR
FORGERY
WITH AN
ACCOUNT OF HIS BEHAVIOUR
WHILE UNDER SENTENCE OF DEATH
TO WHICH ARE ADDED
AN
INTERESTING LETTER TO MR——
AND OTHER
PAPERS AND LETTERS."

No Woodcut.
Imprint. "PENRITH. Printed and Sold by Ann Bell.
Price Three half-pence.
1803."

Unluckily only the first and last leaves of this interesting local chap-book of twenty-four pages remain: the rest being lost. Hatfield was tried at Carlisle, August 15th, 1803, and hanged shortly afterwards.

(3) P.

"THE
VILLAGE
PRESENT
A COLLECTION
OF
LOVE-STORIES, &c. &c.
chiefly in
The Cumberland Dialect."

Woodcut

Woodcut. A blind man and his dog leaving a door.

Imprint. "PENRITH. Printed and Sold by Ann Bell—1803."

The whole of these Love Stories are by Ewan Clarke of Standing Stones, Wigton, and are included in his "Miscellaneous Poems," printed at Whitehaven by J. Ware & Son, 1779. The last leaf of this chap-book, of twenty-four pages, is missing.

(4) P.

"NEW
SONGS
The Crafty Maid.
The Young Man's Dream.
My Nanie O.
William and Phoebe."

Woodcut. A woman with a basket on her head, very like one of the figures in the "Cries of York . . . printed by T. Kendrew, Collier Gate, York." The figures in the "Cries of York" were early and prentice work of the Bewick school and were afterwards used in "The Banbury Cries," see "Banbury Chap-books" p. 47. The woodcut on this chap-book is in all probability from the Bewick studio—the main difference between it and the figure in "York Cries" being the pattern on the basket.

Imprint. "PENRITH. Printed by A. Bell,
1804."

A chap-book of eight pages.

(5) P.

"NEW
SONGS
1. The Ploughboy.
2. The Rambling Boys of Pleasure.
3. Bonaparte and Talleyrand.
4. The Corsican Fairy."

Woodcut. A figure in tail coat and knee breeches leaning on a pedestal, on which is a funeral urn.

Imprint. "PENRITH. Printed by Ann Bell,
1804."

An eight page chap-book.

(6) P.

(6) P.

"NEW
SONGS
The Maid milking her Cow.
The Chimney Sweep.
The Cottage Boy.
Unfurl'd were the Sails."

Woodcut. A chimney sweep and his boy; similar to the chimney sweep in the "York Cries." "Banbury Chapbooks," p. 46: see *ante* p. —. No doubt from the Bewick Studio.

Imprint. "PENRITH. Printed by Ann Bell.
1804."

An eight page chap-book.

(7) P.

"NEW
SONGS
Fy, lat us a' to the Battle.
The Blue Bell of Scotland.
Crazy Jane.
Tom Bowling.
Death or Liberty."

Woodcut. A woman with a pail on her head; a cottage with a tree overshadowing it in the background.

Imprint. "PENRITH. Printed by Ann Bell.
1804."

An eight page chap-book.

(8) P.

"CHRIST'S CARE OF HIS PEOPLE
UNDER
AFFLICTING DISPENSATIONS.
TWO
SERMONS
PREACHED

On

On the Seventeenth Day of August 1662
FROM MATTHEW XIV. 24, 25, 26.
BY
MR. WILLIAM GUTHRIE
AUTHOR OF
'The Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ'
and
Minister of the Gospel at Finnick."

Psalm CXXV. 1.

"*They that trust in the Lord shall be as Mount Zion, which cannot be moved, but abideth for ever.*"

Psalm CXXXVIII. 17.

"*Though I walk in the midst of Trouble, thou wilt revive me.*"

No Woodcut.
Imprint. "PENRITH. Printed and Sold by Ann Bell. 1804."

Twenty-four pages. William Guthrie was a Scotch Presbyterian divine, 1620 to 1665. He had a call to Fenwick (or New Kilmarnock), and from his manner was frequently called the "Fool of Fenwick"; even on the title page of some of his sermons. A notice of him and a list of his writings is in the "National Dictionary of Biography."

(9) P.

"NEW SONGS.

SONGS

1. The Shipwreck'd Boy.
2. Jack is all in all.
3. The Valiant Maid.
4. The Lass of Richmond Hill."

Woodcut. A very rude cut of an action between a fort on a cliff and two men-of-war. The fort flies a standard with a plain cross next to the staff, and may be intended for the English standard prior to the Union with Scotland, which would make the block date from the

the 16th century. One of the men-of-war displays an immense ensign, covered with horizontal stripes. Notwithstanding this, I think this block is intended to represent the Siege of Belleisle, it being used on a Penrith and a Glasgow book with the account of that siege. See p. 43 M.

Imprint. "PENRITH. Printed by Ann Bell.
1808."

Eight pages, but the last leaf is missing.

(10) P.

"NEW
SONGS
A new British War Song.
A Hint for Britain.
Paddy O'Blarney.
The Happy Stranger.
The Banished Soldier.
A New Song."

Woodcut. A man and woman seated on a bank. This is a grotesque parody reversed of a Bewick block, printed in Hugo's "The Bewick Collector Supplement," p. 84. The Bewick block was used by M. Angus & Son, Side, Newcastle, on various chap-books.

Imprint. "PENRITH. Printed by Ann Bell.
1808."

This is an eight page chap-book.

(11) P.

"NEW
SONGS
1. Willie brew'd a Peck o' Maut.
2. On the Seas and far away.
3. John Anderson, My Joe.
4. A Man's a man for a' that."

Woodcut. A woman with bundle over shoulder, from "York Cries, Banbury chap-books," p. 46.

Imprint. "PENRITH. Printed by Ann Bell.
1808."

A chap-book of eight pages.

(12) P.

(12) P.

"A
GARLAND
Containing several
NEW SONGS.

1. Brave Captain Storgay.
2. The GOLDEN DAYS of good QUEEN BESS.
3. The Straw Bonnet."
(A Fact).

Woodcut. A sheep, rather like a horse about the legs; perhaps from an illustrated alphabet.
Imprint. "PENRITH. Printed and Sold by Ann Bell."
An eight page chap-book.

(13) P.

"A
GARLAND
Containing several
NEW SONGS

1. The Perjured Maid.
2. A Song in praise of Free Masonry.
3. The Dublin Baker.
4. Jem of Aberdeen."

Woodcut. A bird (qu. what), probably from an early illustrated alphabet, may possibly be from Bewick's studio.
Imprint. "PENRITH. Printed by Ann Bell."
This Garland contains exactly the same songs as a Garland printed and published in Scotch Street, Carlisle, see No. 3, "Carlisle Chap-books." It contains eight pages.

(14) P.

"A
NEW SONG
Sung in Character at the Masquerade, at
Brayton House, Cumberland.
On Wednesday, the 30 of December 1801,
TO WHICH IS ADDED

The

The last Shilling.
True Courage.
Nongtong paw.
The Albion, the Pride of the Sea.

Woodcut. The action between a fort on a cliff and two men-of-war, which we have already found on one of Ann Bell's chap-books, "New Songs," dated 1808, *ante* p. 43.

Imprint. "PENRITH. Printed by and for Ann Bell."

This is an eight page chap-book, but the last leaf is lost. "Nongtong paw" is by Mr. Dibdin.

We give the Song, sung at the Masquerade—

'Tis now the laughing season, and therefore can't be wrong,
In praise of Masquerading, for Punch to sing his song.
And a masking we will go.

But some, I fear, who are not here, in masking most delight:
They wear a mask at all times, we only for a night.
And a masking we will go.

A mask conceals your beauty, ma'am, and pity 'tis—but hush!
I'd rather mask a pretty face, than put it to the blush.
And a masking we will go.

Each sighing youth, if such there be, who peeps with lover's eyes,
Will quickly find his sweetheart out, thro' all her thin disguise.
And a masking we will go.

If my good wife's among you, I'll know her ere 'tis long,
For Punch's wife may hide her face but cannot hold her tongue.
And a masking we will go.

The lady of the mansion, I'm sure you'll all agree,
Can in a mask her face conceal—but not her courtesy.
And a masking we will go.

'Tis all a joke for you to think of cheating Punchinello,
There is no mask, or dress, on earth to hide an honest fellow.
And a masking we will go.

Now, by the Lord! I know you all:—some few of you for wit—
And some—(you must excuse me) I know—for want of it.
And a masking we will go.

But

But—Bibere, bibere, bino,—or else, in spite of lunch,
The dullness of the song must discover Mister Punch.
And a masking we will go.

(15) P.

"A
NEW SONG
CALLED
SWEET WILLIAM
OF
PLYMOUTH."

Woodcut. The action between a fort and two men-of-war, as in two previous instances.
Imprint. "PENRITH. Printed and sold by A. Bell."
An eight page chap-book.

(16) P.

"THE
PERJURED
GARLAND
SHEWING
How a young lady, near Exeter, forswore herself for the sake of Riches; with an Account what an Example she was made which it is hoped will be a Warning to all young People."

Woodcut. The action between a fort and two men-of-war as in three previous instances.
An eight page chap-book.

(17) P.

"A
COLLECTION
OF
NEW SONGS
viz:

1. The

1. The loss of the Centaur.
2. The Rambling Boy.
3. On the Supplementary Militia.
4. Allen's Return."

Woodcut. A gentleman and lady in conversation. The lady wears the Fontange or Commode head-dress, which was in vogue in the latter part of the reign of William III. and Queen Anne. The block itself may be of that date, or a copy from one of that date.

Imprint. "A. BELL. PENRITH."

The Centaur, 74 guns, foundered on her passage from Jamaica. Captain Inglefield and eleven only of the crew saved, Sept. 21, 1782. This is an eight page chap-book. The Act for raising the Supplementary Militia was passed in 1796, and the men called out in 1798.

(18) P.

"FOUR
EXCELLENT SONGS
VIZ:

1. The County Torron (Tyrone).
2. Tally I. O, the Grinder.
3. The Prince of Wales' Wedding.
4. The Waterman."

Woodcut. A windmill.

Imprint. "PENRITH. Printed by A. Bell."

The Prince of Wales' Wedding was in 1795. This is an eight page chap-book.

(19) P.

"NEW
SONGS
The Fortune-teller.
The Mad Lover.
Content.
Jack's claim to Poll.
Tol de rol de rol."

Woodcut.

Woodcut. One of the York cries reversed. See "Banbury Chap-book," p. 47. A woman crying "Come buy my windmills: a half-penny a-piece."

Imprint. "Printed by ANN BELL, Penrith."

An eight page chap-book.

(20) P.

"FIVE NEW
SONGS

1. Lover's Vows.
2. Young William seeks my heart to move.
3. The Flower Girl.
4. The Fashions.
5. A Favourite Song."

Woodcut. A gentleman and a lady with fan: a church in the right background: lady's head-dress is an early form of the Fontange or commode, or high head-dress in use *temp.* William III. and Queen Anne.

Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed and Sold by Ann Bell."

A "Favourite Song" is stated to be sung in that dismal play "The Stranger." An eight page chap-book.

(21) P.

"NEW
SONGS

The Parachute.
As o'er the Meadows once I strayed.
Joe the Volunteer.
Jemmy of the Cot.
Invasion.
'Tis not the distant seas can part."

Woodcut. An archer, an extremely rude cut.

Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed by Ann Bell."

An eight page chap-book. The "Parachute" is stated to be by Mr. Dibdin [*sic*].

(22) P.

(22) P. "NEW
SONGS

1. Poor Mary of Buttermere.
2. The British in Egypt.
3. The Rambling Boys of Pleasure.
4. Nancy's Gay Light Horseman.
5. The Death of Tom Moody.
6. A Welch Love Song."

Woodcut. A figure in tail coat and knee breeches leaning on a pedestal, on which is a funeral urn, same as No. 5. P.

Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed by Ann Bell."

The British landed in Egypt, 8th March, 1801. Hatfield, the betrayer of Mary of Buttermere was tried and hung at Carlisle, 1803. This is an eight page chap-book.

(23) P.

"FIVE NEW
SONGS

1. The Loss of the Centaur.
2. The Young Man's Dream.
3. Contentment.
4. Blithe Sandy.
5. Tempt me not."

Woodcut. A sailor with his arm round a girl points to his ship in the offing. This is a very rough *facsimile* reversed of an early Bewick block which appears on a Newcastle chap-book called "Poor Jack," printed by "M. Angus & Son, Printers, Newcastle." Hugo's "The Bewick Collector; Supplement," p. 83.

Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed and sold by
A. BELL, in the Market Place."

For the loss of the Centaur, see *ante* No. 17. P. This is an eight page chap-book.

(24) P.

"THE
GOODHURST GARLAND
IN THREE PARTS.

Part I.

Part I. The loyal courtship between a sailor and a farmer's daughter.

Part II. The sailor's mother's passion for her son's pretending to marry the farmer's daughter, who she thought much below his fortune.

Part III. The sailor's wedding who took his bride home in such rich garments that his mother took her for a fine lady."

Woodcut. Five stars or asterisks, cross-wise.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed and sold by ANN BELL."
A chap-book of eight pages.

(25) P.

"*THE UNNATURAL FATHER'S*
GARLAND
OR THE
DUTIFUL SON'S REWARD.
In Three Parts.

Part I. Shewing how a gentleman in Dorsetshire had two sons, one of which he had an aversion to, and turned him out of doors.

Part II. How his darling son by extravagant living brought his father to poverty.

Part III. How the son whom his father hated, after sometime being abroad, married a rich lady with whom he came to England, and relieved his sorrowful father from great distress."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed and Sold by ANN BELL."
An eight page chap-book.

(26) P. "JAMIE AND NANCY
OF
YARMOUTH

SHEWING

SHEWING
THEIR CONSTANT LOVE TO EACH
OTHER UNDER THE SEVEREST
CRUELTY."

Woodcut. A sailor with his arm round a girl points to a ship in the offing, as in No. 23. P., which see.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed and sold by A. BELL."
An eight page chap-book.

(27) P.

"A
GARLAND
CONTAINING THREE EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS, viz:
1. The Flower of Edinburgh.
2. Tibby Fowler.
3. A New Song."

Woodcut. A lady in a hoop.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed by A. BELL."
An eight page chap-book of which the latter half is lost.

(28) P.

Song Book without first page: contains songs:
2. The Woodman.
3. The Soldier's Petition.
4. Salt Eel for Mynheer.
5. Nancy.
6. A Supplication for Peace.
7. Nancy of the Dale.

At the end is "A. BELL, Printer."
An eight page chap-book, wanting the title page.

(29) P.

"FOUR NEW
SONGS

A new Cumberland Ballad.
Mrs. Casey.
The Recruiting Officer.
A favourite Song."

Woodcut. A cavalier in full bottomed wig on horseback to the left; his hat has fallen off and is in the road.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed by Ann Bell."
An eight page chap-book.

(30) P.

"FOUR EXCELLENT NEW
SONGS
VIZ:
1. The North Country Lass.
2. War's Alarms.
3. Bright Phoebus.
4. Bet Sweet Blossom."

Woodcut. As in the last.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed by ANN BELL."
An eight page chap-book.

(31) P.

"THREE CHOICE NEW
SONGS
The Farmer's Daughter.
The Answer.
The Bachelor's Pride."

Woodcut. As on the last two.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed by ANN BELL."
An eight page chap-book.

(32) P.

"THE
LIFE
AND
ADVENTURES
OF
RICHARD BROWN."

Woodcut.

Woodcut. As on last three.
Imprint. "Printed by A. BELL, PENRITH."
An eight page chap-book, of which the last leaf is gone.

(33) P.

"THE
LIFE
AND
SURPRISING ADVENTURES
OF
FREDERICK BARON TRENCK
CORRECTED AND ABRIDGED
TO WHICH IS ADDED
A SHORT SUPPLEMENT:
Giving an authentic account of his more recent Transactions, till he fell a Victim to the prevailing system of Anarchy in France, being sentenced to the Guillotine by the French Convention."

Woodcut. As in last four. No doubt the cavalier is intended for Baron Trenck himself.
Imprint. "Printed by A. Bell, Penrith."
This is a twenty-four.

(34) P.

"THE
SINNER'S
REDEMPTION
Wherein is discovered The Nativity of our blessed Lord and Saviour, JESUS CHRIST, Together with his Life on Earth, and Death upon the Cross, for lost mankind."

Woodcut. Head of a pope, triple tiara and pastoral staff.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed and sold by ANN BELL."
An eight page chap-book.

(35) P.

(35) P.

"A dreadful
EXAMPLE
for
WICKED HUSBANDS
OR THE
VIRTUOUS WIFE IN DISTRESS

Being a true relation of Mr. John Fox, living in the town of Lynn, in Norfolk; shewing how he married the daughter of one squire Wilcox, a lady of great beauty, merit, and a large fortune, contrary to the consent of all her friends.

How he spent his and her substance in a riotous and debauched manner, with his lewd companions, while she wanted bread for herself and three children.

How he was drove to despair, and hanged himself at the door of the house he had formerly lived in.

How his apparition was seen and heard for a considerable time, making most terrible noises, to the great affrightment and disturbance of the neighbourhood."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed and Sold by A. BELL."
Two copies: an eight page chap-book.

(37) P.

"THE
REPROBATE'S REWARD
OR
LOOKING-GLASS
FOR
DISOBEDIENT CHILDREN
BEING

A full account of a cruel Murder, committed on the body of Elizabeth Wood, of Bristol, by her own Son, as she was riding to Chippenham Market. How he cut her throat

throat from ear to ear. And how the murder was discovered by her Apparition. Also the manner of his being apprehended and taken.

With a true Copy of Verses written with his own hand, in Bristol Jail."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "PENRITH:
Printed and sold by A. BELL in the Market Place."
An eight page chap-book.

(38) P.

"THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
JANE SHORE
CONCUBINE TO
KING EDWARD IV."

Woodcut. On title page, a diamond of 64 stars or asterisks: no woodcuts. in the text.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed by A. BELL."
A twenty-four, of which the last leaf is missing.

(39) P.

"ANTONIO & CLARISSA
OR THE
FATAL POEM
A
PATHETIC TALE
An account of an unfortunate young
LADY, &c."

Woodcut. A gentleman and lady with fan as in No. 20 P.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed by Ann Bell."
This is a dismal story of twenty-four pages: the heroine, Miss Clarissa Williams, is the daughter of an eminent physician in the north, whose house is a few miles from Whitehaven, where Clarissa was at school.

(40) P.

"BRITAIN'S
TIMELY REMEMBRANCER
OR A
WARNING FROM HEAVEN
TO
VILE SINNERS ON EARTH
BEING
MR. BRIGHTLY'S last SERMON which
he preached in his shroud, and died immediately after he concluded the same

To which is Added

An account of the holy Life of Mr. R. Brightly, Minister of Waltham in Leicestershire, and of his daily walking with God. Of the care he took of his Parishioners, during their visitation with many maligant distempers. How he was praying one night at his chamber window, he fell into a trance, and saw the state of the damned in everlasting torments, and that of the blessed in celestial glory,—Of his being warned of death by an Angel: he afterwards bought a shroud and coffin, caused his grave to be made, and invited his Parishioners to attend his last sermon—When he declared his vision, how he saw Death, and of the message he had given him to warn the inhabitants of the earth from the wrath to come. Of his dying in the pulpit when he had delivered his sermon. And lastly of his burial, and the harmonious music that was heard in the air during his interment."

Woodcut. None.

Imprint. "PENRITH:
Printed and Sold by ANN BELL in the Market Place."

This is a chap-book of eight pages: it is given by Halliwell in his "Fugitive Tracts and Chap-books," vol xxix., Percy Society.

(41) P.

(41) P.

"THE
AGE OF MAN
OR
MAN'S BEGINNING, AND LAST END
DESCRIBED IN THE CHARACTER OF
LIFE AND DEATH
Setting Forth

The Uncertainty and Brevity of Man's Life. Also many serious and awaking considerations to careless Souls, to prepare for the last enemy Death.

Thou fool, this night shall thy soul be required of thee. Luke XII. 20."

Woodcut. None.

Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed and Sold by A. BELL."
A twenty-four.

(42) P.

"A
KEY
TO OPEN
HEAVEN'S GATE,
OR, A READY
PATH-WAY
TO
HEAVEN.
BY LAWRENCE PRICE.

Come ye blessed of my Father, receive a Crown and Kingdom of Glory, which was prepared for you from the Beginning."

Woodcut. None.

Imprint. "Printed by ANN BELL, PENRITH."
An eight page chap-book.

43) P.

(43) P.

"A
WONDERFUL CONTRACT
NOW BEGUN
BEWTEEN TWO PARTIES OF GREAT RENOWN
JEHOVAH the BRIDEGROOM
AND
HIS CHURCH THE BRIDE.

This I compos'd in dead of night,
While on my bed I did reflect;
And who inclines to read these lines,
My advice will not neglect."

Woodcut. A small ornament.
Imprint. "Printed by A. BELL, PENRITH."
A long poem.—An eight page chap-book.

(44) P.

"DEATH'S WARRANT;
OR THE
SOUL'S WELCOME
TO
GLORY
WRITTEN BY
JOHN BROWN
A young Man in Hexham, on his Deathbed, and sung at his Funeral, at his own Request.
To which is added
THE LIFE OF THE
HAPPY MAN."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "PENRITH: printed by A. BELL."
An eight page chap-book.

(45—46) P.

(45—46) P.

"HEAVENLY REST
FOR A
WEARY SOUL
OR, THE
PILGRIM AT HIS JOURNEY'S END
BEING
THE LAST LEGACY OF A FATHER TO HIS
CHILDREN, WHEN ON HIS DEATH-BED

TO WHICH IS ADDED

I. The Children's Duty to God, their Mother and Themselves.
II. A Copy of Verses, written by the Father, a little before his Death.
III. Some Godly Meditations.
IV. The Father's last gift to his children.

By the Rev. JOHN BUNYAN.

Very pleasant to read, profitable to practise, and of Excellent Use to all Sorts of People, that desire to live a godly Life in this present World."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed and Sold by Ann Bell."
Two copies of this eight page chap-book, of which one is imperfect.

(47) P.
A twenty-four page booklet: title page gone: a long story about Adelaide and Fonrose: at end is "A. Bell, Printer, Penrith." Also printed at Alston, see 6 M.

(48) P.

"AN
ADDRESS
TO
PARENTS &c.

Shepherd

Shepherd of souls with pitying eye
  The thousands of our Israel see
To Thee in their behalf we cry,
  Ourselves but newly found in Thee—

We tremble at the danger near,
  And crowds of wretched Parents see;
Who blindly fond, their Children rear
  In Tempers far as Hell's from Thee."

Woodcut. Figure of Time with scythe and hour-glass. Above, a mason's level, and below, another and a pair of compasses.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed by Anthony Soulby.
In the Market Place."
An eight page chap-book.

(49) P.

"THE
HISTORY
OF ADAM BELL, CLIM OF THE CLOUGH AND
WILLIAM OF CLOUDESLIE.
THE THREE NORTHERN
ARCHERS."

Woodcut. An archer in a modern costume, hat and feathers.
Imprint. "Anthony Soulby, Printer, Penrith."
This is a twenty-four: the scene of this ballad is laid at Carlisle.

(50) P.

"THE
EXCELLENT OLD BALLAD
OF
THE THRIFTLESS
HEIR OF LINN
AND
JOHN OF THE SCALES
IN TWO PARTS."

Woodcut

Woodcut. In an oval frame, a young head, plumed hat; qu. Edward VI.

Imprint. "SOULBY, printer."

A chap-book of eight pages.

(51) P.

"ANTONIO and CLARISSA
OR THE
FATAL POEM
A
PATHETIC TALE.
To which is added
An account of an unfortunate
YOUNG LADY."

Woodcut. A barque of early date: on the main top-sail is the letter N.

Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed in the Present
Year: by A. SOULBY."

There are three rude and worn woodcuts in the text, one of which is a duel: a very ancient ship: and a coach and pair. This chap-book is also printed by Ann Bell of Penrith. It is a twenty-four.

(52) P.

"THE
FAMOUS HISTORY
OF THE
VALIANT LONDON
APPRENTICE."

Woodcuts. Several very rude and worn: On title page, a young man between two houses. In the text we have:—a youngish man in 17th century costume; an older one in the same with full bottomed wig; a lady with fontange headdress and a fan; a view of a city, probably intended for London, there being something, which may be old London Bridge; the barque which was on the title page of Soulby's "Antonio and Clarissa," but the letter N has been erased from the main

main topsail; an interior, two countrymen consulting a man in full bottomed wig, seated at a table, over his head the letter F, and on the wall maps of the two hemispheres; the figures of Crispin and Crispianus that decorate one of the Whitehaven histories of Thomas Hickathrift, but the picture is reversed. No cut is given of the apprentice vanquishing the two lions. This chap-book is a twenty-four.

Imprint. "Penrith: printed by A. Soulby."

(53) P.

"THE
HISTORY
OF
RICHARD WHITTINGTON
THRICE
LORD MAYOR OF LONDON."

Woodcut. On title page figure of Crispin from a Newcastle chap-book, see Ashton's book, p. 223.

Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed by A. Soulby."

There are several wood blocks, in the text is the portrait of a divine with long hair and skull cap; on p. 9 three women; on p. 12 the same barque that appeared on the title page of Soulby's "Antonio and Clarissa," and also on "The Valiant London Apprentice," but here it has the letter U on the topsail. On p. 14 is a circular shield, on which a ship under topsails; supporters two black-a-moors; this must be the arms of some trading company. On p. 16 a representation of God Almighty in the clouds, surrounded by stars. On p. 19 the Lord Mayor's coach. On p. 21 Bartholomew's Hospital, or what is intended for it. This is a chap-book of twenty-four pages.

(54) P.

"JACK THE PIPER
OR
FRIAR and BOY
PART the FIRST

The rest of the title page of this chap-book of twenty-four pages is destroyed.

(55) P.

(55) P.

"THE SAME
PART the SECOND."

Woodcut. Jack piping and figures dancing.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed and Sold by Anthony Soulby.
Where may be had a *large Assortment* of
HISTORIES, SONGS, GODLY-BOOKS, &c."

If Anthony Soulby considered this very coarse ballad a "Godly Book," he must have had a great imagination. It has twenty-four pages.

(56) P.

"THE
CURIOUS HISTORY
OF
TOM HICKATHRIFT
THE
WONDER OF THE WORLD!!
PART FIRST."

Woodcut. Rude representation of the fight between Tom and the Giant.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed and sold by Anthony Soulby."

(57) P.

THE SAME
PART SECOND

Same Woodcut and Imprint.
Part second also contains
"The Cook and his Customer.
The Gypsey.
The Salute.
The Mistake.
An Epigram."

Both the first and second parts are twenty-four pages.

(58) P.

(58) P.

"A
GARLAND
CONTAINING
TWO EXCELLENT SONGS, viz:

1. The CHILDREN in the WOOD.
2. DARBY and JOAN."

Woodcut. The death of one of the two ruffians.

Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed and Sold by Anthony Soulby."

An eight page chap-book.

(59) P.

"THE
HISTORY
OF AN
UNFORTUNATE CLERGYMAN
To which is added The Golden head. (A Tale)."

Woodcut. A very indistinct portrait of a divine with an open book.

Imprint. "Penrith: Printed by A. Soulby."

Another of his "Godly Books"!! Very coarse! has twenty-four pages, of which the last two are missing.

(60) P.

Chapbook of eight pages: title page gone.

* * *

The Grinders.
Liberty Hall.
Duet.

FINIS "A. Soulby, Typ., Penrith."

(61) P.

(61) P.

"THE
PARENTS' PIOUS GIFT:
OR
A CHOICE PRESENT FOR CHILDREN
SET FORTH IN
A DIALOGUE between a RELIGIOUS FATHER, and
AN EXTRAVAGANT SON.
TO WHICH IS ADDED
A HYMN on the DAY OF JUDGMENT."

Woodcut. The last judgment from Carlisle chap-book of 1770.
Imprint. "Printed at the New Printing Office, PENRITH."
A chap-book of eight pages.

(62) P.

"THE
AFFECTING HISTORY
OF
SALLY WILLIAMS
AFTERWARDS CALLED
TIPPLING SALLY

Shewing how she left her Father's House to follow an Officer, who seduced her; and how she took to drinking, and at last became a vile Prostitute, died in an Hospital, and was dissected *by the Surgeons.*

TENDING TO SHEW THE PERNICIOUS
EFFECTS OF DRAM DRINKING."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "PENRITH: Printed by F. JOLLIE, Junr.
Of whom may be had Moral and Religious Tracts.
(Price One penny)."
An eight page chap-book.

(63) P.

(63) P.

"THE SINNER
DIRECTED TO
THE SAVIOUR
(An Extract from Favel)."

Woodcut. The Crucifixion.
Imprint. "PENRITH: PRINTED BY J. ALLISON.
Of Whom may be had
A large and general Assortment of Religious Patters, Children's Histories, &c., &c.
PRICE ONE PENNY."
An eight page chap-book.

(64) P.

"THE
PRODIGAL SON
IN VERSE
Shewing how a young Gentlemen spent his Money in riotous living, and was afterwards reduced to feed Swine: when being almost starved, he returned to his Father, who kindly received him, and made a great Feast on the the occasion."

Woodcut. A figure in a landscape, apparently mopping his head.
Imprint. "PENRITH: PRINTED BY J. ALLISON.
Of whom may be had
A large and general Assortment of Religious Patters, Children's Books, Histories, &c., &c.
PRICE ONE PENNY.
An eight page chap-book.

(65) P.

"THE
PIOUS HERMIT
OR
Mysterious Providences Unriddl'd.
TO WHICH IS ADDED
THE CHARACTER OF CHRIST."

Woodcut.

Woodcut. A figure in gown and round cap, like a doctor of law, and with something like a turnip in his hand, is apparently going to feed a reclining stag.

Imprint. As on last. An eight page chap-book.

(66) P.

"THE
HISTORY
OF
WILLIAM BLACK
A CHIMNEY-SWEEPER."

Woodcut. A figure in black looking at a funeral urn on a pedestal.

Imprint. As on last two. An eight page chap-book.

PENRITH PRINTERS.

EXTRACTS FROM PENRITH REGISTERS.*

1799. Nov. 9. Ann Bell, a widow, aged 98, buried.†

1800. March 31st. Ann, daughter of William Bell, and Mary his wife, baptised.

1804. May 15th. Ann, daughter of John Bell, and Mary his wife (late Cannon), baptized.

1820. May. Mary, daughter of Joseph and Ann Bell, Boroughgate, Penrith, Tailor, baptized.

1820. August 31. Ann, daugh^{r} of Edwd and Mary Bell, Townhead, Penrith, Labourer, bapt^{d}.

1821. Nov. 23. Jane daug^{r} of Joseph and Ann Bell, Boroughgate, Penrith, Tailor, baptized.

1823. Dec. 8. Ann Bell, widow, Boroughgate, Penrith, buried, aged 73.‡

1825. April 24th. Eliz^{h} daug^{r} of Joseph and Ann Bell, Boroughgate, Penrith, Tailor, baptized.

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* I am indebted to Mr. Geo. Watson, of Penrith, for these extracts from the Penrith Registers. I have not been very successful in tracing the Penrith printers.

† This might be the printer's mother, but scarcely his widow.

‡ This may be the printer, but of this there is no proof.

ANTHONY

1790. May 11th. William son of Anthony Soulby, and Nanny his wife (late Bird) bapt^{d}.

1791. Sep. 24. William son of Anthony Soulby, and Nanny, his wife, aged 1, buried.

1792. Jan. 18th. Dorothy Soulby, aged 13, buried.

1807. April 13th. Margaret Soulby, buried, aged 63.

1803. Aug. 14. Barbara, daug^{r} of Anthony Soulby, and Ann, his wife, aged 16, buried.

Registers examined up to 1834 and no further Anthony Soulby entries found.

Allison was a printer in 1836, when he published a guide to Penrith and its neighbourhood: he failed, and his business was, in 1841, continued by the late B. T. Sweeten, whose family still carry it on.

Anthony Soulby was a churchwarden in 1801. He printed, without date, "The New Songster, or Musical Alio, A selection of new and much approved songs: also several Cumberland Ballads by Mr. Anderson" with eight Bewick cuts. He also printed, without date, but about the year 1800, "The Pleasing Instructor, or Entertaining Moralist, consisting of Select Essays, &c." This has frontispiece and four other cuts, which appear to be by John Bewick; see Hugo's "Bewick Collector Supplement," p. 28.

Soulby must have done a good deal of business with the Bewicks, and Hugo purchased several Bewick blocks from Soulby's office, including a block of fighting cocks, and a racing cut, and a view of a church and tower on a hill, of which an impression is given in the "Bewick Collector Supplement": it is readily recognisable as the Tower of Kirkoswald Church, Cumberland, which stands on a hill away from the church. Miss Julia Boyd also acquired from Soulby's office two blocks cut by Thomas Bewick for chap-books, printed at Penrith, namely, one representing a game of cards and the other a turnpike gate; and two fable cuts,—the fox and the grapes, and the fox and the daw. See "Bewick Gleanings" by Julia Boyd, Reid, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1886, pp. 26 and 72. Miss Boyd also says, p. 15, that *circa* 1770, Thomas Bewick at the age of fifteen or sixteen cut a bar-bill head for the St. George and Dragon at Penrith which was much admired. He also did one, a copper plate, for the Crown Inn at Penrith, a border of foliage, with a post chaise at the foot. It is clear that the connection between the Penrith press and the Bewicks was close and of long duration. Some more Penrith chap-books will be found in the Appendix. The first edition of Clarke's "Survey of the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire" was printed at Penrith in 1787, but the imprint does not give the printer's name.

MISCELLANEOUS CHAP-BOOKS IN THE JACKSON COLLECTION.

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(1) M.

"THE TWO
CUMBERLAND
BALLADS
CALLED
NICHOL THE NEWSMONGER
AND
BIDDY
TO WHICH IS ADDED THE
SCOTTISH
SONG
CALLED THE
WEE THING."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "CUMBERLAND: Printed for the Booksellers, 1809."
This is an eight page chap-book.
"Nichol the Newsmonger" is by Anderson, the Cumberland Bard.

(2) W.

"A
COLLECTION OF
SONGS
VIZ:

Heaving the Lead.
Terry-heigh-ho the Grinder.
Lovely Nan.
The Woodman.
A Tinker I am."

Woodcut.

Woodcut. A ship.
Imprint. "BORROWDALE, PRINTER, WORKINGTON."*
An eight page chap-book.

(3) M.

"AN OBJECT OF THE LOVE OF GOD
OR THE
HISTORY OF JOSEPH
KNOWN BY THE NAME OF
POOR JOSEPH
Whose employment was
to carry Parcels for Merchants in the city of
London."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "Workington: printed by Mr. Borrowdale.
1810."
An eight page chap-book.

(4) M.

"AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
EXECUTION
OF
STOKES ALIAS STOCKTON
AND
EDWARDS
Tried at the last Carlisle Assizes, 1809
FOR THE
ROBBERY
OF THE
WHITEHAVEN BANK."

* According to Hugo's "Bewick Collector," p. 84, W. Borrowdale in the Market Place, Workington, printed in 1845, the second edition of Stagg's "Miscellaneous Poems" with Bewick blocks. Hugo in his "Bewick Collector Supplement" says the blocks are not by Bewick. In 1810 Edward Bowness, Portland Square, Workington, printed "The Rules of the Workington Agricultural Society, and the Reports to the President," with a beautiful Bewick block "An oak in a Cornfield." *Ibid* p. 98.

Woodcut.

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "WIGTON: PRINTED BY R. HETHERTON."
At the end is: *Printed at Hetherton's Office, Wigton.*
This is an eight page chap-book.

WIGTON PRINTERS.*

"Wigton Advertiser" Office,
Wigton, Cumberland, Sept. 26th, 1894.

R. S. FERGUSON, Esq., F.S.A.

Dear Sir,—The earliest mention I can find of a printer in Wigton is of the Hetherton you speak of, who printed? the 2nd edition of "Anderson's Cumberland Ballads."† I think he would not be in business in Wigton long, as I find from an old play-bill of November 18th, 1813, that E. Rook had the business. (He conducted both an ironmongery business and a bookselling business in adjoining shops). E. Rook reprinted Hetherton's edition of "Anderson's Ballads," in 1815, and was succeeded by John Ismay, who did much work in his day, being a practical man. He did not live long, and to him succeeded the late Henry Hoodless, who was a practical printer. About 1843 William Robertson set up a rival printing office, and was in business for a great many years. He published an edition of "Anderson's Ballads," and did a very large trade in printing songs and broadsides for hawkers and balladmongers.

A man called Dixon also commenced printing, in about the year 1848, but had bad health, so sold his plant to the late Joseph Mc Mechan, who set up as printer, adding it to his trade of Bookseller, in 1849. The late W. Robertson's entire plant and stock was bought by Thomas Ker, who carried on the business for a time, when T. McMechan bought it, and added it to his other business.

The only local paper is the "Wigton Advertiser," which was begun in January, 1857. It was issued monthly for three months, and then

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* I am indebted to Mr. T. McMechan of Wigton for the letter printed above.
† In 1808, frontispiece and tailpieces by Bewick, in which year Hetherton brought out an edition of "Stagg's Poems," and in 1811 he printed "Anderson's Popular Songs."

fortnightly

fortnightly for a few months more, and has been a weekly since 1858. The founder, publisher, and editor was Thomas McMechan who still publishes and conducts it. W. H. Hoodless does not continue the printing business carried on by his late father, confining himself to the bookselling and stationery department. Some years ago Joseph Wallas began a printing business which was afterwards sold to Wilson Moore, who again disposed of it to Joseph Gate, who at present conducts it.

(5) M.

"READING
MADE QUITE EASY & DIVERTING
CONTAINING

Symbolical Cuts for the Alphabet:—Tables of Words of 1, 2, 3 and 4 Syllables:—with easy Lessons from the Scriptures; instructive talks and edifying pieces of Poetry, with Songs, moral and divine, from ISAAC WATTS.

To which is added

THE CHURCH CATECHISM;
With several entertaining Stories, Proverbs, Moral Sayings, Riddles, &c.
SECOND EDITION
New modelled, greatly enlarged and improved
BY W. WEALD AND OTHERS."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "EGREMONT: Printed for
J. CARRUTHERS, DUMFRIES.
W. STUART, WHITEHANEN.
BY GEO. STUART."

There is an outer title page, on which is "STUART'S EDITION," and a wood block representing a lady, apparently, giving prizes to some children: this booklet contains 96 pages, commencing with various forms of the alphabet, and concluding with the Church Catechism and forms of various prayers and graces.

At the end is "Geo. Stuart, Printer, Egremont."

(6) M.

(6) M.

"A
HEAVENLY REST
FOR A
WEARY SOUL
OR THE
PILGRIM AT HIS JOURNEY'S END
BEING
THE LAST LEGACY OF A FATHER TO HIS CHILDREN, WHEN ON HIS DEATH-BED.

To which is added

I. The Children's Duty to God, their Mother and themselves.
II. A Copy of Verses written by the Father a little before his Death.
III. Some godly meditations.
IV. The Father's last gift to his Children.

BY THE REV. JOHN BUNYAN.

The whole is pleasant to read, profitable to practise and of excellent Use to all Sorts of People that desire to Live a Godly Life in this World."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "J. Harrop, Printer, Alston."
An eight page chap-book, also printed by Ann Bell, see 45 P. and 46 P.

(7) M.

"FAVOURITE
SONGS
O my bonny Bet Sweet blossom.
Stand to your Guns, etc.
Dumbarton's Drums,
Crazy Jane.
Lovely Polly."

Woodcut

Woodcut. A lady and gentleman; small boat in the distance.
Imprint. "J. Harrop, Printer, Alston."
An eight page chap-book.

(8) M.

"FIVE
CHOICE
SONGS

1. The Disappointed Sailor.
2. The Roving Soldier.
3. Jolly Jack of Dover.
4. Sweet Poll of Plymouth.
5. Preach not to me your Rules."

Woodcut. A mastiff dog.
Imprint. "Harrop, Printer, Alston."
An eight page chap-book.

(9) M.

"A
GARLAND
OF
SONGS
CONTAINING

1. Tom Tough.
2. The County Tyrrone.
3. Peggy Bond.
4. The Man and the Money for Life."

Woodcut. Back view of horse and jockey.
Imprint "J. Harrop, Printer, Alston."
An eight page chap-book; the two inner leaves lost.

(10) M.

"A
GARLAND
CONTAINING
FOUR EXCELLENT
SONGS

The

The Beggar Girl.
The Galley Slave.
The Deploring Damsel.
The Tar for all Weather."

Woodcut. A grey hound.
Imprint. "J. Harrop, Printer, Alston."
An eight page chap-book.

(11) M.

"THE
JOVIAL SONGSTER
OR
LAUGH AND BE FAT.
I. Croppies, lie down.
II. The Jolly Miner's Song.
III. Chelsea Quarters.
IV. My Bonny Highland Laddie."

Woodcut. Lady and gentleman; she holds a closed fan and wears a gipsy hat; he wears a huge wig.
Imprint. "ALSTON: PRINTED BY J. HARROP."
An eight page chap-book.

(12) M.

"SELF EMPLOYMENT
IN SECRET
Left under the Hand-writing
OF THE
REV. MR. CORBET
Late of Chichester.
A NEW EDITION."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "ALSTON:
Printed by J. HARROP, for the Editor and all Book-sellers.
1800."

A little book of seventy-nine pages, by John Corbet, 1620-80, Puritan author, son of Roger Corbet, shoemaker, of Gloucester.

(13) M.

(13) M.

"FIVE CHOICE
SONGS

I. Mary weep no more for me.
II. The Barking Barber.
III. No, No, Nobody.
IV. I'd rather be Excused.
V. What is it makes a lover Blest?"

Woodcut. A windmill.
Imprint. "J. HARROP, PRINTER, ALSTON."
A chap-book of eight pages, of which last two leaves are lost.

(14) M.

"FOUR EXCELLENT
SONGS
VIZ:

The Bachelor.
Newcastle Fair.
The Last time I came o'er the Moor.
Aminta's Pleasure.

Woodcut. A swan.
Imprint. "J. HARROP, PRINTER, ALSTON."
An eight page chap-book.

(15) M.

"THE WOODY
CHORISTERS
OR THE
BIRDS
OF
HARMONY
IN TWO PARTS."

Woodcut

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "ALSTON: Printed by J. HARROP."*
An eight page chap-book.

(16) M.

"THE BRAVE
BRITISH TAR
OR
The true history of a sailor who had both his legs shot off in Lord Duncan's Victory, with an account of his extraordinary Dream, and how remarkably it was fulfilled."

Woodcut. A brigantine: probably by Bewick.
Imprint. "KENDAL:
M. and R. BRANTHWAITE, PRINTERS."
A pious tract: converted sailor. An eight page chap-book.

(17) M.

"THE HISTORY
OF
HONEST JACK
THE SAILOR

We should think of the world that's to come, honest Jack,
When in this we're so pain'd and perplex'd.
O no! this world for me, for I don't know, you see,
At all what to think of the next."

Woodcut. A scene on a quay; probably a Bewick block.
Imprint. "KENDAL: Printed by M. and R. Branthwaite."
An eight page chap-book.

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* J. Harrop of Alston printed "The Alston Miscellany," or "Gentleman's Magazine." The first number came out in April, 1799, and it continued to be published in monthly numbers, price twopence each, until March 1800. In 1810 T. Walker and Co., of Alston, printed "Lives of the most Eminent English Poets," by Samuel Johnson, LL.D.

KENDAL PRINTERS.

Michael* and Richard Branthwaite were in business in 1803, as Booksellers and Printers. They printed in 1822, "The Beauties of Aesop, and other Fabulists," third edition, with a beautiful frontispiece and twelve cuts by Thomas Bewick. They printed and did a large wholesale trade in Battledores (A. B. C. Books), Catechisms, Watts' Hymns, Street Songs, and Chap-books. After Michael died, his brother Richard carried on the business for about five years, and then Edward Branthwaite, his son, succeeded him. About 1855 the business was sold to James Robinson, and about 1872 he sold the business to W. F. Robson, who eventually became bankrupt, and his effects were sold. I got a few of the blocks, one of two game cocks, which embellished your paper on cock-fighting.† The others I lent to Miss Julia Boyd for her Bewick book, and never got them back. As early as 1731 Kendal had its newspaper, published by Thomas Cotton, in the Fish Market, and called the "Kendal Courant." This was followed, three years later, by the "Kendal Weekly Mercury," published by Thomas Ashburner (successor to Thomas Cotton, in the Fish Market); this paper was continued for twelve or thirteen years, and then gave place to a periodical, called "The Agreeable Miscellany." In 1811 "The Kendal Chronicle" appeared, but changed its name to the "Kendal Mercury" in 1834. In 1818 "The Westmorland Gazette and Kendal Advertiser" was commenced, and continues to the present time. A third paper, the "Kendal Times," was started in 1864, and in 1879 the "Mercury" and "Times" were amalgamated.

From "Robson's Guide to Kendal."

In 1778 W. Pennington printed at Kendal "Miscellaneous pieces in Prose and Verse," by Charles Graham, of Penrith. Hugo got from the Branthwaites' Office blocks for Bar Bills for the White Hart, Hawes; and also for the Salutation, Ambleside, Royal Oak, and Swan Inns, but does not say where these inns were, probably in the Lake District. Hugo also got from Kendal a set of twenty-four alphabetical cuts on one block, and a block of a clergyman, and two blocks of Fighting Cocks, from Mr. Hudson, Kendal.

T. WILSON.

Mr. W. Steel writes as follows:—"Kendal Chronicle." The first number of this paper appeared in 1811. It announced that "Isaac Steele and Co., Fish Market, Kendal, will take in political and other matters."

*M. Branthwaite, in 1802, printed at Kendal the second edition of Ann Wheeler's "The Westmorland Dealer": the first was printed there in 1790 by S. Richardson.
† These *Transactions*, vol. ix, p. 366.

matters." In 1819 the "Chronicle" became a Liberal paper. Mr. Lough bought one and a half share, for which his father-in-law paid 200 guineas to Dr. Robinson of Clifton, one of the original proprietors. A year later Mr. Lough became sole proprietor. It was continued until April 1834, when it gave place to the "Kendal Mercury" which was printed by George Irwin.

(18) M. "THE
HISTORY
OF THE
SHEPHERD
OF
SALISBURY PLAIN
PART I."

Woodcut. A piping shepherd and a shepherdess seated under a tree.
Imprint. "G. ASHBURNER, PRINTER, ULVERSTON."
A chap-book of sixteen pages.

(19) M. "THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BLIND BEGGAR
OF BETHNAL GREEN
CONTAINING
His birth." (Long account).

Woodcut. A Conjuror with cards, thimbles and birds.
Imprint. "G. ASHBURNER, PRINTER, ULVERSTON."
A chap-book of sixteen pages.

(20) M. "A
DIALOGUE
BETWEEN TWO INTIMATE FRIENDS
ON
REGENERATION
OR THE NEW BIRTH."

Woodcut

Woodcut. An interior, two divines seated at a table.
Imprint. "ULVERSTON: Printed by G. Ashburner."
A chap-book of sixteen pages.

(21) M.

"A CHOICE
GARLAND
CONTAINING
Four New Songs viz:
1. At Sixteen years old.
2. A Printers's Song.
3. Famed First of June.
4 Dorothy Dump."

Woodcut. On a floreated shield the Paschal Lamb lodged.
Imprint. "LANCASTER: Printed by A. Busher."
A chap-book of eight pages.

(22) M.

"A
COLLECTION
OF
FAVOURITE SONGS
VIZ:
1. The High Mettled Racer.
2. Black Eyed Susan.
3. Abraham Newland.
4. Desponding Negro.
5. How Sweet in the Woodlands."

Woodcut. A blasted tree.
Imprint. "Printed and Sold by C. CLARKE, *Market Place, Lancaster*, where all kinds of Songs, Children's Books, Histories, &c., may be had."
A chap-book of eight pages.

(23) M.

(23) M.

"LOYAL SCOTCH
GARLAND
CONTAINING

1. Donald McDonald.
2. Lough Country Sandy's reply to Donald McDonald."

Woodcut. A Crown.
Imprint. "NEWCASTLE: PRINTED BY DAVID BASS FOOT OF PILGRIM STREET."
A chap-book of eight pages.

(24) M.

"GOD'S DREADFUL JUDGEMENT
ON
WICKED, CRUEL, & DISOBEDIENT CHILDREN
TO THEIR
PARENTS.

Shewing how a Farmer of Exeter reduced himself to Extreme Poverty in order to advance his Son by marrying a Lady of Fortune; how the Son having accomplished his Design, disdained his Father & Mother, who soon after died with Grief. Also the miserable Death of this undutiful Wretch."

Woodcut. Head of a divine.
Imprint. "*Newcastle*: Printed in the Present year."
A chap-book of eight pages.

(25) M.

"THE
HERMIT
OF
WARKWORTH
A NORTHUMBERLAND TALE
IN THREE PARTS BY
DR. THOMAS PERCY, BISHOP OF DROMORE."

Woodcut.

Woodcut. A person carrying a cross, ascends a steep and tortuous path up a mountain while from the skies a hand holds out a crown of glory. A Bewick block?

Imprint. "PRINTED AND SOLD BY W. FORDYCE.
48 Dean Street, Newcastle.
A Variety of Histories and Songs always on hand.
Agent to the Yorkshire Fire and Life Insurance Company.
Annuities and Reversions purchased, & Annuities granted."

This is a twenty-four.

(26) M.

REMARKABLE & MEMORABLE HISTORY OF
SIR ROBt BEWICK
AND THE
LAIRD GRAHAM

Giving an account of Laird Graham's meeting with Sir Robert Bewick in the Town of Carlisle and they going to a Tavern, a Dispute happened betwixt them, which of their Sons was the best Man—How Graham rode home in a Passion, and caused his Son to fight young Bewick, which proved their Deaths.

ALSO THE
BERKSHIRE LADY'S
GARLAND
IN FOUR PARTS."

Woodcut. Two Highlanders fighting with broadswords and targets.

Imprint. "Printed & Sold by W. & T. FORDYCE, Newcastle and Hull, and J. WHINHAM & CO., 66 Scotch Street, Carlisle."

This is a twenty-four.

(27) M.

"THE
WANDERING JEW
OR THE
SHOEMAKER OF JERUSALEM

Who lived when our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was crucified, and by Him appointed to Wander until He comes again.

With

With his
Travels, Method of Living & a Discourse with some Clergymen about the End of the World."

Woodcut. A man with a staff, and a sack on his back, much resembling one of the figures in the "York Cries," see "Banbury Chap-books," p. 47.

Imprint. "EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR THE BOOKSELLERS.
By R. Menzies, Lawn Market.
(Price One Penny.)"

This is an eight page Chap-book.

(28) M. "THE SURPRISING
HISTORY
OF THE
LEVIATHIAN
OR
RIVER HORSE
Found in the Rivers of Africa.
Shewing the
Wonderful properties of that Amphibious Animal.
which lives on the land or in the water, whose Teeth strike fire like a Flint stone. As also the dangerous manner of catching him."

Woodcut. A horse, or rather a zebra.

Imprint. "FALKIRK: PRINTED BY T. JOHNSTON.
1801."

A chap-book of eight pages.

(29) M.
"CRAWFORD'S TRACTS
No. 1.
THE
NEGRO SERVANT
AN
AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE
OF A
YOUNG NEGRO Shewing

Shewing
How he was made a Slave in Africa, and carried to Jamaica, where he was sold to a Captain in His Majesty's Navy, and taken to America, where he became a Christian; and afterwards brought to England & baptized."

Woodcut. A kneeling negro in chains.
Imprint. "KILMARNOCK: PRINTED BY H. CRAWFORD."
This is a twenty-four.

(30) M.

"CRAWFORD'S TRACTS
No. 3.
THE HISTORY
OF
KITTY WELLS
CONTAINING
THE BIRTH OF, etc.—"

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "KILMARNOCK: PRINTED BY H. CRAWFORD."
This is a twenty-four.

(31) M.

"THE
WITTY AND ENTERTAINING
EXPLOITS
OF
GEORGE BUCHANAN
COMMONLY CALLED
THE KING'S FOOL
IN TWO PARTS."

Woodcut. Head of a divine.
Imprint. "KILMARNOCK: PRINTED BY H. CRAWFORD."
A twenty-four.

(32) M.

(32) M.

"AN EXACT
ACCOUNT
OF THE
TRIAL AND EXECUTION
OF
CAPTAIN JEANE

Who was hanged in chains on the 13th of last month for the most vile and unheard of cruel Murder of Richard Peyne, his Cabin boy, etc., etc."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "*Licensed and entered according to Order. London: Printed for James White.*"
This is a chap-book of eight pages.

(33) M.

"HEAVEN'S
JUDGEMENT
ON
GAMESTERS, DRUNKARDS & SEEKERS OF
REVENGE

Being a True Acc[t] of one Mr. JOHN GIBBS, etc., etc."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "LONDON: Printed by JOHN BURKE, St. Giles."
A chap-book of eight pages.

(34) M.

"A DREADFUL WARNING
TO
DISOBEDIENT CHILDREN

Being an awful Account of the Life, Trial, Confession and Execution of

JOHN HARRISON

Aged 20 of Wigton, near Carlisle, who was Executed for the Wilful Murder of his Father, Mother, and Servant Maid:

Maid: for robbing the house, and setting fire to it, with an intent to hide the crime.
With the manner of the discovery, his apprehension, what confession he made before the Magistrates. How the Ghosts of the dead bodies appeared to him in goal. Together with his dying speech at the place of Execution: with several other things worthy the observation of young people."

Woodcut. A small rural scene. In the text is a portrait of the murderer, about whom I have, locally, found nothing.

Imprint. "LONDON:
Printed by J. Evans & Son, 42 Long Lane, West Smithfield.
Price One Penny."

An eight page Chap-book.

(35) M.

"THE
HAPPY MAN
OR
THE LIFE OF
WILLIAM KELLY
BEING
An authentic Narrative
Of a very extraordinary character in the Isle of Man."

Woodcut. The landlady of a public house points to Kelly's score, and seizes his hat as security for it.

Imprint. "LONDON:
Printed and Sold by J. Evans & Son, No. 42 Long Lane.
Sold also by G. F. Collins, No. 6a Paternoster Row, and by J. Nisbet, No. 15 Castle Street, Oxford Street.
Price One Penny."

Kelly is said to have died in 1808. This is a Chap-book of eight pages.

36 M.

(36) M.

"Licensed and published according to Act of Parliament

THE
UNFORTUNATE SHIPWRIGHT
OR
CRUEL CAPTAIN
BEING A
FAITHFUL NARRATIVE
of the Unparallelled Sufferings
of
ROBERT BARKER
Late Carpenter on board the Thetis Snow of Bristol, on a Voyage from thence to the coast of Guinea and Antigua."

Woodcut. None.

Imprint. "LONDON:
Printed for and sold by the SUFFERER for his own Benefit, and by no one else, 1775.
(Price 8d or 4d each Part).

There are thirty-eight pages to this chap-book, and have been more. It has a full page portrait of the Sufferer in his prime, standing on a quay, and viewing a two-masted vessel, intended for the Thetis Snow.

(37) M.

"THE
LIFE
VOYAGES AND SEA BATTLES
OF
THAT CELEBRATED SEAMAN
COMMODORE
PAUL JONES
Still remembered
By some of the Old Inhabitants
Now living at Wapping,
He being originally in the coal trade,
In which is contained
A variety of important Facts

Displaying

Displaying the
Revolutions of Fortune that this Naval Adventurer
underwent.
DERBY
PUBLISHED BY THOMAS RICHARDSON.
SIMPKIN MARSHALL & CO., LONDON.
PRICE SIXPENCE."

This is a twenty-four, and has a brilliantly coloured folding picture, giving scenes in the life of Paul Jones. It has twenty-four pages, and is rather more than a chap-book.

(38) M.

"THE
PRESS GANG
OR
TRUE BLUE
To which are added
RIDGES OF RYE
and
CATO'S ADVICE."

Woodcut. A man with bottle and glass at the front of a public house, sign, "The Fouled Anchor," welcoming a foreign sailor.
Imprint. "GLASGOW: Printed by J. and M. ROBERTSON.
Saltmarket, 1799"

(39) M.

"THE
FARMER'S DAUGHTER
WITH THE
ANSWER
To which are added
The Sailor's Lamentation.
With the Answer.
The Disconsolate Lover.
The Green Purse."

Woodcut.

Woodcut. Head of a lady.
Imprint. "Glasgow: printed by J. & M. Robertson, Saltmarket, 1801."
A chap-book of eight pages.

(40) M.

"THE
WANTON VIRGINS FRIGHTENED
To which are added
The Rejected Maid.
Different Humans.
The Disconsolate Sailor.
Billy & Molly's Parting.
The Busy Crew."

Woodcut. Man, woman, and child singing ballads. (Well known block, used by Crawford of Kilmarnock and others.)
Imprint. "GLASGOW: Printed by J. & M. Robertson.
Saltmarket, 1802."
A chap-book of eight pages.

(41) M.

"PRIDE OF POOR BRITAIN
OR THE
FOLLY OF MAN

To which are added

Advice to the Fair Sex.
The Old Woman ground young again.
The Sailor's Departure.
Thomas Loved Harriet.
My Pretty Brunette."

Woodcut. A thistle, crowned.
Imprint. "GLASGOW: Printed by J. & M. Robertson,
Saltmarket, 1802."
A chap-book of eight pages.

(42) M.

(42) M.

"BRITONS EN MASSE
OR THE
LEGIONS OF FREEDOM
To which are added
THE CELEBRATED DEATH-SONG OF THE
CHEROKEE INDIAN
O tell me how for to Woo.
Russell's Triumph.
Whistle and I'll come to you my Lad.
The Bonny Bold Soldier.
The Patriot Fain."

Woodcut. Three Highland soldiers: viz.—officer, drummer, and piper, and a spectator.
Imprint. "GLASGOW: Printed by J. & M. Robertson, Saltmarket, 1803."
A chap-book of eight pages.

(43) M.

"THE
SIEGE OF BELLEISLE
To which are added
THE NOVICE
The Lamenting Maid.
The Answer.
Bung your eye.
Catch hold on to Day.
The Poor little Orphan.
To Lethe Repair.
She is fair and unkind."

Woodcut. Two ships fighting a fortress on a cliff. Siege of Belleisle, a block frequently used in this collection, but here it is reversed, and somewhat altered. See 9 P., 14 P., 15 P., 16 P.
Imprint. "GLASGOW: Printed by J. & M. Robertson, Saltmarket."

(1) N.P.

(1) N.P.*

"THE
WAY TO WEALTH
OR
POOR RICHARD'S MAXIMS
IMPROVED
COLLECTED BY THE AUTHOR
Dr. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
FROM THE
PENNSYLVANIAN ALMANAC
he published, entitled
POOR RICHARD

Reader! *buy this Book: consider well its contents, and though it cost thee but ONE PENNY, it may save thee* many Pounds."

Woodcut. An ornament.
Imprint. "Printed in this present year."
MDCCXCVIII.
A twenty-four.

(2) N.P.

"THE BERKSHIRE
TRAGEDY
OR
THE WHITTAM MILLER

Who most barbarously murdered his Sweetheart: With his Examination, Confession and Trial. Likewise his last dying Words at the Place of Execution."

Woodcut. A rude and hideous representation of a man cutting a woman's throat. This cut is reproduced in "Specimens of early wood engraving, from the Collections of Mr. Charnley, Newcastle, printer; printed Newcastle 1858." An eight page chap-book.
Imprint. "*Licensed and Entered according to Order.*"

(3) N.P.

* N.P. No place of printing stated.

(3) N.P.

"GRAMACHEE MOLLY
WITH
THE ANSWER
To which is added
SCORNFU' NANSY
AND
THE POWER OF LOVE."

Woodcut. Lady in round flat hat and sacque, and a gentleman: last century costume.

Imprint "*Entered according to Order.*"

An eight page chap-book, of which the two inner pages are gone.

(4) N.P.

"THE
KENTISH LADY'S
GARLAND
Containing several of the last
NEW SONGS

I. The Kentish Lady's Wedding.
II. A New Medley.
III. A new Song call'd Hook or by Crook.
IV. The Reformed Drunkard.
V. The Hairy Cap."

Woodcut. A gentleman with three-cornered hat: lady with commode head-dress: a tree and rising sun. Is in Charnley's Book.

Imprint. "*Licensed and Entered according to Order.*"

The Hairy Cap refers to the Northumberland Militia during the time of the war with America. An eight page chap-book.

(5) N.P.

"*The horned Scotchman's*
GARLAND
Containing four excellent
NEW SONGS

I. The

I. The horned Scotchman.
II. More ways than one.
III. The fisher wives of Allanby.
IV. The gentleman tricked by the bold beggar wench."

Woodcut. The same figure of a giant as appears upon the title page of the edition of "Thomas Hickathrift." Printed by J. Dunn of Whitehaven.

Imprint. Torn off.

The local character of the last two songs, and the wood block make me assign this to J. Dunn, of Whitehaven. It is an eight page chap-book.

(6) N.P.

"THREE EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS
VIZ:
1. The Windsor Lady.
2. The Shipwrecked Sailor.
3. The Scolding Wife."

Woodcut. An interior: lady seated with dog.

Imprint. "*Entered according to Order.*"

An eight page chap-book.

(7) N.P.

"THE
Choice of Apollo
Being a Collection of Modern
AND MUCH-APPROVED
NEW SONGS
1. Poor old England, or the Tax upon Hair-Powder.
2. The Primrose Girl.
3. The Deploring Damsel."

Woodcut. A greyhound, the same as appears upon a chap-book printed by Harrop, of Alston, see 10 M.

Imprint. None.

An eight page chap-book.

(8) N.P.

(8) N.P.

"A
GARLAND
Containing
THREE EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS
VIZ:

1. 'Twas Saturday.
2. Come under my Plaidy.
3. A Negro Song.

Woodcut. A female figure in steeple hat like a Puritan.
Imprint. "*Entered according to Order.*"
The first song is from Dibdin's Oddities. The third from Park's Travels in Africa. An eight page chap-book,

(9) N.P.

"FIVE CHOICE
NEW SONGS
WELL AWAY BARBARA ALLEN.
THE MATCH BOY.
LUCY OF THE VALLEY.
THE LINNET.
T'OTHER DAY AS I SAT IN A SHADY RETREAT."

Woodcut. In an oval, figure of a hunchback, Æsop ?
Imprint. "*Entered according to Order.*"
An eight page chap-book.

(10) N.P.

"THE
Wandering Young GENTLEWOMAN
OR
CATSKIN'S GARLAND
IN FIVE PARTS."

Woodcut. An old fashioned coach and pair.
No Imprint. An eight page chap-book.

(11) N.P,

(11) N.P. "A
NEW SONG
CALLED
A Piper o'er the Meadows Straying:
TO WHICH IS ADDED
2. Rule Britannia.
3. Song—in the Mariners.
4. A Drinking Song.
5. Air—in false Colours.

Woodcut. A planetary.
Imprint. "*Entered according to Order.*"
An eight page chap-book.

(12) N.P.
"FRIBURGH CASTLE
OR THE
WIFE
OF TWO HUSBANDS
A Tragic Tale

Woodcut. A view of Friburgh Castle.
Imprint. "*Printed in the Present Year.*"
A twenty-four.

(13) N.P.
"CHEVY CHACE'S
GARLAND
Or, an unhappy memorable
OLD SONG
Shewing the Hunting of Chevy Chace, between the Earl Piercy of England, and Earl Douglass of Scotland."

Woodcut. Two horsemen, like fox-hunters of last century, and a huntsman on foot with horn and leaping pole, and three dogs pursue a hare. In background a house, and a female figure with a shield, and a flail: qu: a quintain, or a female with spinning wheel and distaff? A similar woodcut is in Charnley.
Imprint. "*Licensed and Entered according to Order.*"
An eight page chap-book.

(14) N.P.

(14) N.P.

"THE
ADVENTURES
OF
MR. BAMPFYLDE MOOR CAREW

Imperfect: title page lost. Has been a twenty-four.

(15) N.P.

"A
GARLAND
CONTAINING
PATRICK O'NEAL'S
Description of a
MAN OF WAR.
Also Dibdin's YANCO."

Woodcut. Two men-of-war in action.
Imprint. "*Entered according to Order.*"
An eight page chap-book.

(16) N.P.

"THE
DISCONSOLATE SAILOR'S
GARLAND
Containing six Excellent
NEW SONGS

1. Disconsolate Sailor.
2. The Sequel to the Disconsolate Sailor.
3. Homeward Bound.
4. The Old Horse.
5. Vicar of Bray.
6. Drinking Song."

Woodcut. A ship.
Imprint. None.
An eight page chap-book.

(17) N.P.

(17) N.P. "FOUR EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS
VIZ:

1. The Half-bak'd Bachelor.
2. The Little Singing Girl.
3. The Tranquil Thatch.
4. To Sing of Love's Passion."

Woodcut. Enter a gentleman in full bottomed wig, hat in hand, bowing to lady in a chair with her arms extended.

Imprint. "*Entered according to Order.*"

An eight page chap-book.

(18) N.P.

"BOB AND HIS LANDLADY
OR THE
YOUNG SOLDIER'S FROLIC
To which are added
LOW down in the BROOM.
The LITTLE COUPLE.
SEIZE OCCASION.
A NEW SONG."

Woodcut. Lady in enormous hat and sacque, shakes hands with gentleman.

Imprint. "*Entered according to Order.*"

An eight page chap-book.

(19) N.P. "A
GARLAND
CONTAINING
THREE EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS
(viz:)
Polly—By Mr. Anderson.
The Soldier's Grave.
The Beggar Girl—Mr. Anderson.
Saturday Night at Sea."

Woodcut.

Woodcut. A landscape with milkmaid, pail on head, milk spilling out.

Imprint. "*Entered according to Order.*"
An eight page chap-book.

(20) N.P.

"THE FROLICKSOME LADY'S
GARLAND
Composed of several Excellent
NEW SONGS

1. The Frolicksome Lady, or the happy Footman.
2. The stray'd Lamb, or the Shepherdess's Wish.
3. Bright Phaebus, And the Answer.
4. The bonny Irish Girl."

Woodcut. Very worn: lady and gentleman, and the sun, moon, and stars.

Imprint. "*Licensed and entered according to Order.*"
An eight page chap-book.

(21) N.P.

"A
FAITH RELATION
OF
ANN MOORE
Of Tutbury in Staffordshire.
who has
LIVED FOUR YEARS
Without any kind of Food."

Woodcut, A large woman fallen down on the pavement.

Imprint. "*Printed for the Booksellers.*"
A twenty-four.

(22) N.P.

(22) N.P. "A
DREADFUL WARNING
TO CRUEL
MOTHERS OF CHILDREN
BEING AN ACCOUNT OF ONE
MADAM MANLEY
NEAR THE TOWN OF
SHREWSBURY
Who was burnt at a Stake for the murder of her own child, a Daughter, of about ten years of Age."

Woodcut. A man hanging from a gibbet. Inside are three, one of which represents a parson, a lady and the devil.
Imprint. "*Licensed and Entered according to Order.*"
An eight page chap-book.

(23) N.P.
"THE
NORWICH TRAGEDY
OR

Being a full and true account (etc., at great length)
To which is added
THE FUNERAL SERMON."

Woodcut. A corpse, shrouded and coffined.
Imprint. None.
An eight page chap-book.

(24) N.P.
"THE BOLD SAILOR'S
GARLAND
CONTAINING FOUR EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS
1. The Bold Sailor.
2. The Young wife.
3. The Maid happy Married.
4. The Joyful Day."

Woodcut.

Woodcut. A man and woman capering or dancing.
Imprint. None.

The "Joyful Day" commemorates the revival or re-opening of the Coal works at Whitehaven, by Lord Lonsdale. It probably refers to the year 1791, when a "creep" took place in some old coal works under Whitehaven, and eighteen houses were destroyed. In consequence of the actions brought against him for damages, Lord Lonsdale closed all his collieries, to the ruin of the town of Whitehaven, but was presently induced to re-open them. "*Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*," vol. iii, pp. 290-1.

This chap-book may therefore be from the Whitehaven Press: it has eight pages.

(25) N.P. "THE WESTERN GARLAND
In Four Parts

Part I. *William Whitecraft's* Courtship to Mrs *Susan Cole*, both of Plymouth; with an Account of her Sickness, which disappointed the Wedding.

Part II. The Deceitfulness of her Parents, who sent her to Holland, because she would not marry a Squire, and break her former vows.

Part III. *William's* great Fortune in obtaining Riches, with the Account of *Susan's* pretended Death which afterwards he found to be the Deceitfulness of her Parents in finding her by good Fortune at the *Hague*.

Part IV. His return to *England* with his Love, with an Account of their happy Wedding: concluding with the pleasant Pastime between the Parents and the Daughter, while they did not know their Child, though in their Presence."

Woodcut. A ship.
Imprint. "*Licensed and Entered according to Order.*"
An eight page chap-book.

(26) N.P.

(26) N.P.

"THE
TWO SAILORS OUTWITTED
OR
EGGS AND BACON
To which is added
The Smart Robin Gray.
The Martial Invitation.
The Jealous Husband well Paid.
The Lover's Summons.

Woodcut. Three ballad singers, a man, woman, and boy: the same block as on 40 M. Glasgow. An eight page chap-book.

(27) N.P.

"JOCKEY TO THE FAIR'S
GARLAND
CONTAINING FOUR EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS
I. Jockey to the Fair.
II. Down the Burn, Davy.
III. A new American Song.
IV. GOD SAVE THE KING."

Woodcut. Half length male and female figures: Cupid hovering over.
Imprint. None.
An eight page chap-book.

(28) N.P.

"DREADFUL NEWS
FROM
CUMBERLAND
BEING
A true Relation of a most horrid and barbarous Murder committed the 18th of April 1753; shewing one William Johnson,

a

a Butcher, went to Mr. Wilkinson's a Grazier, near Wigton in the county of Cumberland to buy Cattle and found the said Mr. Wilkinson, his Wife, three daughters marriageable, three small children, a Nurse and a Man servant, all inhumanly murdered in their Beds, and weltering in their Gore. With an account of the wonderful Discovery of the Murderers, their apprehending and Commitment to Carlisle Gaol.

With the substance of a SERMON *preached on this sad Occasion by the Rev. Mr. James Douglas Minister of Wigton,*
In a LETTER to a GENTLEMAN."

Woodcut. Two small flowers.
Imprint. "*Licensed and Entered according to Order.*"
As the Sermon is said to have been preached in Wigton Church, "Minister" must mean Vicar, but no vicar of Wigton was ever named Douglas. The whole story is a flam, from beginning to end. An eight page chap-book.

(29) N.P.

"THE
UNHAPPY BIRTH
WICKED LIFE AND MISERABLE DEATH OF
THAT VILE TRAITOR AND APOSTLE
JUDAS ISCARIOT
Who killed his reputed Brother, murdered his own Father and married his own Mother: and for thirty pieces of silver betrayed his most sacred Lord and Master JESUS CHRIST."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. None.
An eight page chap-book.

(30) N.P.

"HYMNS
AND
SPIRITUAL SONGS."

Woodcut.

Woodcut. A man in full bottomed wig and full skirted coat.
Imprint. None.

But in the place usually occupied by it is: "This Author of this, Erix Argleston in Swedish, and Alexander Johnston in English, was born in Stockholm, the metropolis of Sweden."

The inner leaves of this chap-book of eight pages are lost, but the first hymn is headed "Christ's Sufferings in his Birth," and the last must be, judging from what remains, "Christ's Sufferings in his Death."

(31) N.P.

"FIVE EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS
1. Sweet Poll of Plymouth.
2. Sequel to Poll of Plymouth.
3. The Blackbird.
4. Life's Like the Sea.
5. The Charming Fellow."

Woodcut. An interior. Two fellows apparently consulting a doctor, who is seated with full wig at a table, on which ink-pot and a document. One of the fellows proffers a purse; maps of the world on the wall. Initial F. over the doctor.
Imprint. "*printed in this present year.*"
A chap-book of eight pages.

(32) N.P.

"THE
LOYAL GARLAND
Addressed to the
FRIENDS OF OLD ENGLAND
1. God save the King.
2. Rule Britannia.
3. The Invasion.
4. All on Board of a Man-of-War."

Woodcut. A ship under sail.
Imprint. "Printed in the present year."
A chap-book of eight pages.

(33) N.P.

(33) N.P.

"A
GARLAND
CONTAINING FOUR
NEW SONGS
VIZ:
A Sea Song.
Mary of the Tweed.
Jack Junk.
The Soldier's Farewell."

Woodcut. Male and female figures under an arcade. Costumes *temp.* C. II.
Imprint. "Printed in this present year."
An eight page chap-book.

(34) N.P.

"A
GARLAND
OF
NEW SONGS
CONTAINING
1. The Churlish Husband.
2. Limbo—a favourite song.
3. The Devil and the Grinder.
4. The naked Lady."

Woodcut. An old man on a horse carrying sacks; a mill in background.
Imprint. None.
A chap-book of eight pages.

(35) N.P.

"A
GARLAND
OF
NEW SONGS
Containing
1. Crippled

1. Crippled Jack of Trafalgar.
2. Bandy Legged Bridget.
3. The Way to Get Married.
4. Towdy Rowdy Day.
5. The Old Woman and her Eggs.
6. All in his Glory.
7. Burlesque Parody on "Love and Glory".

Woodcut. A cavalier.
Imprint. None.
An eight page chap-book.

(36) N.P.

"THE FLOWERS OF THE FOREST.
A
GARLAND
The Flowers of the Forest.
A New Song on the defeat of the French Fleet.
The Lover's Parting."

Woodcut. Cavalier and lady, hand in hand.
Imprint. "Licensed and entered according to Order."
An eight page chap-book.

(37) N.P.

"THE
GOLDEN BULL
OR THE
CRAFTY PRINCESS
In four parts.

Part 1st. How a King Courted his own Daughter for marriage, threatening her with Death if she would not consent to be his Wife.

Part 2nd. The Lady's Craftiness to be conveyed over Sea in a Golden Bull to the Prince she loved.

Part 3rd. How her Arrival and Love came to be known to the young Prince.

Part 4th.

Part 4th. How her Death was contrived by three Ladies in her Lover's absence. How she was preserved and after married to the young Prince, with other remarks, Incidents that happened."

Woodcut. A king and a queen.
Imprint. "Entered according to Order."
A chap-book of eight pages.

(38) N.P.

"A
GARLAND
OF
NEW SONGS
CONTAINING
1. Moll of the Wood.
2. The Soldier's Lass.
3. Come under my Plaidie.
4. The Answer."

Woodcut. Lady with feather fan.
Imprint. None.
A chap-book of eight pages.

(39) N.P.

"THE
SON OF ALKNOMOCK
AND THE
DEATH OF ALICO
To which is added
The African's Complaint on Board a
Slave Ship and
THE NEGRO BOY."

Woodcut. An Indian in feathered head-dress smoking a long pipe, with his hand on a hogshead.
Imprint. "Entered according to Order."
A chap-book of eight pages.

(40) N.P.

(40) N.P.

"A
GARLAND
OF
NEW SONGS
CONTAINING

1. The brays of Killicranky O.
2. My bonny Lowland Laddie.
3. Patrick O'Neal.
4. The young sailor from Dover.
5. Yo Yeo."

Woodcut. Lady and gentleman.
Imprint. None.

APPENDIX.

Mr. G. Clark Burman, of Alnwick, who possesses an extensive collection, kindly sent me for inspection, the following examples of Cumberland Chap-books, all in brilliant condition. Mr. Burman's collection is rich in Northumberland and Glasgow Chap-books.

BURMAN COLLECTION.

(1)

"HISTORY
of
CARLISLE
ANCIENT AND MODERN
Containing
An accurate Description of the City—an Account of its Public Buildings, Castle, and Churches, Municipal Government

ment, Trade and Commerce. The Canal, the Railroad; with the most remarkable Occurrences that have taken place here from the earliest period.
Also CARLISLE YETTE, a Poem, allusive to the taking of the City by Prince Charles Stuart.

GRETNA GREEN EXCURSIONS AND ADVENTURES
THE BRIDGES AND OTHER INFORMATION."

Woodcut. A ruined Castle.
Imprint. "CARLISLE:
Published by S. Whinham & Co. 66 Scotch-street.
A large Collection of Song-books, Ballads, Histories, etc.
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL."
Colophon. W. &. T. Fordyce, Printers, Dean Street.

(2)

"*THE*
BLIND BEGGAR
OF
BETHNAL GREEN.
IN TWO PARTS.

PART I. Shewing how a blind Beggar's Daughter left her Father at Bethnal Green, and travelled to Rumford, where she served some time: was admired by all who saw her for beauty, courted by several, but on her telling "she was a Beggar's Daughter," they all slighted her but a young Knight who came with her to her Father.

PART II. Giving an account of their sumptuous Wedding, her great Portion given by her Father, and his noble Pedigree.

To which is prefixed
VIOLENT FRIENDSHIP,
AN ANECDOTE."

Imprint. "Penrith: Printed by A. SOULBY."

(3)

(3)

"A
SELECTION
OF
APPROV'D SONGS.
Namely
POOR LITTLE GIPSEY,
FEYTHER AND I.
THE WEDDING OF BALLYPOREEN."

Woodcut. Landscape and Mansion, &c.
Imprint. "*PENRITH:*
PRINTED BY A. SOULBY."

Of whom may be had a large and general Assortment of Histories, Song, Patters, Children's Books &c.

(4)

"THE PLEASING
SONGSTER
Containing
Diogenes Surly and Proud.
The Galley Slave.
I'm o'er young to marry yet.
Farewell to Lodaler.
Toby Philpot.
The Beggar Girl."

Woodcut. Lowther Castle.
Imprint. "PENRITH.
Printed by A. SOULBY."

(5)

"An Excellent
NEW SONG
Called
THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR
Or

THE

THE VICTORY AND DEATH OF
LORD NELSON.
Never before published
To which are added
TROTTING ALONG THE ROAD
AND A
Song for the WEDDING NIGHT

Woodcut (small). A ship.
Imprint. "PENRITH:
Printed and Sold by A. Soulby."

(6)

"THE LINCOLNSHIRE FARMERS'
GARLAND
OR
THE CONVINCED CUCKOLD.
TO WHICH ARE ADDED
WOMAN'S ONLY WISH.
AND
TO A CHEAT."

Woodcut. As on Approved Songs.
Imprint. "PENRITH:
Printed by ANTHONY SOULBY.
Where may be had a great Variety of Histories, Songs, Patters, Children's Books etc. etc."

(7)

"DANIEL MACWIRE'S
GARLAND
SHEWING
How he went to Dublin and was employed by a Merchant to be his Factor, where a rich young lady fell in love with him. They met in private, but were betrayed by * * * of the Earl of Kildare, who was present at the wedding.
TO WHICH ARE ADDED
Come under my Plaidy and
The Triple Plea."

Imprint,

Imprint. "*PENRITH:*
PRINTED BY ANTHONY SOULBY.
Of whom may be had a large and general assortment of Histories, Songs, Patters, Children's Books, &c., &c."

(8)

"A
GARLAND
OF
NEW SONGS
viz:
The Sweethearts.
O grant me, kind Bacchus.
William and Jesse.
John Appleby.
'Twas past Twelve o'Clock."

Woodcut. A ship under sail.
Imprint. "Penrith: Printed by A. Soulby."

(9)

"THE GRAVE
A POEM
BY ROBERT BLAIR.
THE HOME APPOINTED FOR ALL LIVING."

Woodcut. A tomb, a coffin, draped with cloth, thereon an Urn.
Imprint. "*Penrith:* Printed by A. Soulby."
This was also printed at Alnwick with Bewick Cuts.

(10)

"THE
NIGHTINGALE.
CONTAINING
Some of the most admired
SONGS.
VIZ.

Sweet

Sweet Jessie the Flow'r o' Dumblane.
Giles Scroggins.
The Beggar Girl.
Sally in our Alley.
The Death of Sally Roy.
The Bonny Bold Soldier."

Woodcut. A lion. A Bewick cut.
Imprint. "PENRITH:
PRINTED BY J. SHAW.
Who has on Sale all the new and most popular Songs now singing with applause; also, a general assortment of Histories, Children's Books, Lotteries, etc."

(11)

"THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
FAIR ROSAMOND.
Concubine to King Henry the Second."

Woodcut. A lady and gentleman, each with a fan, she in a huge hoop and sacque.
Imprint. "PENRITH:
PRINTED BY J. ALLISON.
Of Whom may be had
A large and general Assortment of Religious Patters, Children's Books, Histories, &c."

(12)

"FOUR
NEW SONGS.
Bonnet o' Blue.
The Hawthorn.
The Crooked Disciple.
The Little Couple."

Woodcut. A fiddler and a woman near the end of a house.
Imprint. Allison, as on the last two.

(13)

(13)

"A COLLECTION OF POPULAR
NEW SONGS
VIZ.
The Maid of Lodi.
Simple Simon and his Two Wives.
Nuts and Crackers.
Lovely Sally.
The Entered Apprentice.

Woodcut. Square and Compasses.
Imprint. As on the last two.

(14)

"FOUR
NEW SONGS.
viz.
Jessy the Flower o' Dumblane.
The Blackbird.
Wandering Shepherdess.
The Answer."

Woodcut. A house, door in middle with steps.
Imprint. "PENRITH:
PRINTED BY J. ALLISON.
Who has constantly on Sale a large and general Assortment of Religious Tracts, Histories, Children's Books, etc., etc."

(15)

"THE
DUTIFUL DAUGHTER
OR
THE FATHER'S
PROP IN ADVERSITY.
TO WHICH IS ADDED
A REMEDY FOR DISCONTENT
OR THE
HAPPY OLD WOMAN AT DRAPERS."

Imprint. As on the last.

(17) N.P.

(16)

"A FEW REAL
BANG UP SONGS
VIZ.
Don't be in such a Hurry.
The Ploughman.
Yon, Yon, Yon Lassie.
The Rantin Dog the Daddie on't kissing."

Woodcut. A horse and groom.
Imprint. PENRITH:
Printed by M. Harrison.

(17)

"A COLLECTION
OF
NEW SONGS
CONTAINING
ELLEN OF THE DEE.
THE BRIGHT STAR OF GLORY.
OUR COUNTRY OR A GRAVE O'T.
BLACK EYED SUSAN."

Woodcut. A lyre, and trumpet.
Imprint. "WORKINGTON:
Printed by JOHN FOSTER, Portland Square.
1813."

(18)

"A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
SURPRISING ADVENTURES AND SUFFERINGS
OF
JOHN ROACH
MARINER
OF
WHITEHAVEN.
CONTAINING

CONTAINING AN
ACCURATE DETAIL OF HIS LONG CAPTIVITY
BY THE
INDIANS AND SPANIARDS
IN SOUTH AMERICA
AND INCLUDING A
Curious Account of the Manners of some of the Tribes
ON THE
ISTHMUS OF DARIEN.
&c. &c."

Imprint. "WORKINGTON:
PRINTED BY EDMUND BOWNESS.
1813."

CHETHAM LIBRARY.

In the Chetham Library at Manchester, there are two Penrith Chap-books, viz :—

(1) "The History of the Babes in the Wood, printed by Ann Bell, Penrith."

(2) "The Mad Pranks of Tom Tram, son-in-law to Mother Winter. To whom is added his Merry Jests, Odd Conceits and Pleasant Tales, Being delightful to read. With a variety of Merry Tales, adapted for the Purpose of banishing away the Rush of Care and Creating Risibility and Mirth; printed by Ann Bell, Penrith. No date."

Vignette: a man hanging on a gallows.

Mr. Blair,

BLAIR COLLECTION.

Mr. Blair, F.S.A., kindly sent for my inspection his collection of Chap-books, between fifty and sixty in number. Among them I found no examples by Cumberland and Westmorland printers, but the following, though printed at Alnwick, has local interest.

(1)

"THE BATTLE
OF
CHEVY CHASE
To which is added
THE DRINKING MATCH
at Eden-hall
In Imitation of the
FAMEOUS BALLAD OF CHEVY CHASE."

Woodcut. Three figures in classical costume: one unarmed, intervening between the other two.

Imprint. "ALNWICK:
Printed and Sold by W. DAVISON, Bondgate Street, where may be had a large Assortment of Histories, Songs, Pictures, Children's Books, &c."

COWARD COLLECTION.

The *Bibliotheca Jacksoniana* also possesses a collection of 91 chap-books made by the late Mr. George Coward of Carlisle, and purchased at the sale of his library in November 1894. They are in brilliant condition, nearly all

all being uncut, and apparently never having been sold. Of these 38 were printed at Newcastle-on-Tyne, all of them but two, by J. Marshall, in the Old Flesh Market: one of the exceptions is by "Angus, printer, Side, Newcastle"; the other, the history of "The Lambton Worm," is by "W. R. Walker, Royal Arcade, Newcastle."

1. Printed at Morpeth by R. Blair.
1. Printed at Durham by G. Walker, junior.
1. Printed at Lancaster by C. Clark.
1. Printed and sold by W. & T. Fordyce, Newcastle and Hull; and J. Whinham and Co., 66 Scotch Street, Carlisle.

This is a local chap-book and contains the "Remarkable and Memorable History of Sir Robert Bewick and Laird Graham," of which the scene is laid at Carlisle; and also "The Berkshire Lady's Garland."

34. Glasgow, printed by the booksellers.
1. No Imprint.
8. Edinburgh, printed for the booksellers.
1. Stirling, printed for the booksellers.
4. Tain, printed for the booksellers.
1. London: viz:

"THE HUMBLE
PETITION
and
REPRESENTATION
OF
THE GENTRY, MINISTERS, and
others of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland
to His Sacred
MAJESTIE;
With His Majestie's Answer
thereunto."

York:

York: 5. July, 1642.

Woodcut. A small rose, thistle, fleur-de-lis and harp, each crowned.

Imprint. "LONDON:

Printed by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestie; and by the Assignes of John Bill.

1642."

This last is hardly to be called a Chap-book; it belongs to the clan of political tracts, largely printed in the time of the Troubles.

APPENDIX.

The following chap-books have recently been found among loose papers in the Jackson Collection.

(1)

"AN
OLD MAN'S EXPERIENCE
OR
Poor Richards Maxims improved

Where ever thoughts with so much plainess flow,
Their sense—untutor'd infancy may know,
Yet to such height is all their plainess wrought,
Wit may admire, and letter'd pride be taught.

READER, if thou buy this BOOK, and seriously consider its contents, though it cost thee but ONE PENNY, it may save thee MANY POUNDS."

Woodcut. A much worn block of a half-length figure in armour with long flowing locks: middle 17th century.

Imprint. "PENRITH:

Printed and sold by A. Bell.—1797."

This is a twenty-four.

(2)

(2)

"A
MERRY NIGHT
OR THE
Service of Satan preferred to the Service of God, &c.
Never before published."

Woodcut. A convival scene.
Imprint. "PENRITH:
Printed by J. Allison, Market Place."

This is a pious prose chap-book of eight pages, but the two inner leaves are gone.

N.P.—The writer has not attempted to give the names of the authors of the various songs and ballads that occur in the Garlands. Many will be readily recognised: but others might be difficult to identify. Through the kindness of Mr. Geo. Watson of Penrith, we give with this paper an illustration from a chap-book block from Soulby's office, Penrith: we have not yet, however, found a chap-book with this block.

ART. II.—*The Earliest Register of the Parish of Thursby.* By the REV. JAMES WILSON, M.A., Vicar of Dalston.

Communicated at Carlisle, August 8th, 1895.

THE earliest register of the parish of Thursby is a narrow parchment in folio bound with leather, which was originally clasped, a companion volume to its neighbour at Dalston of the same date. The first and last entries are :—

1649. Sep. 2. Joseph the soone of Thomas Addison and Jannett his wife was baptized.
1753. January the seventh was John son of John Losh of Thursby buried.

Its opening pages are of some interest as throwing light upon the system of registration employed in the parish during the Commonwealth. The first leaf contains certain entries of inductions of the Incumbents from time to time together with the names of the churchwardens for the years between 1673 and 1725. These entries will be given in their proper places. Then follow two leaves which cover the years from September 2, 1649 to September 1659 under this title :—

The Register booke of Thursby for Marrages, Birthes and Burialls from Anno Dom. 1649.

They appear to have been written in the same hand and at the same time. In all, there were 86 entries made which may be disposed in years according to this table :—

1649

1649	...	...	21	entries
1650	...	...	4	,,
1651	...	...	1	,,
1652-4	...	...	15	,,
1655	...	...	8	,,
1656	...	...	23	,,
1657	...	...	13	,,
1659	...	...	1	,,
			86	

But beneath the title there is written in the peculiar hand of the Restoration vicar—

Collected togidder out of sundry hands be Mr Johne Hammiltoun minister and inserted anno 1663.

This vicar was a man of many conceits, a feature of his character to which perhaps we owe the preservation of these entries. His handwriting is peculiar: his method of spelling is peculiar and the title of his Register is peculiar. He heads his Register thus—

The Register Book of the church of Thursbie, contayning Marriages, Baptims and buriels, inserted be me Mr. Johne Hammiltoune since my entry therto be ye dean of Carelill his presentationn given to me the last of November 1661. *

Johannes Hammiltonus	Johne Hammiltoune
anagr:	angramma
Sonuit hosanna Elohim	To heavin mine home

This is quite as clever and as happy a transposition of the letters in a name, though the pietism savours of Scotland from which apparently the author had sprung, as the anagram ascribed to Dr. Burney on the name of Horatio Nelson—*Honor est a Nilo*—which has been so euphemised

* The county histories, following Nicolson and Burn (ii. 207) say that he was instituted on June 17, 1662; in that case it was deferred six months after his appointment.

in

in the dictionaries. Together with the first entry, a few others are given to show the peculiarity* of his orthography—

1661, Dece^{r} 16, Ennie ye do^{r} of Edward and Ma^{t} Ritsonn wes baptized in quhinno
15 Jany 1662 Marie the do^{r} of Jo^{n} Baker in mickellquhat wes baptized
March 30 1668, Johne Rickerbie of Nilus buryed.
29 dec^{r} 72 Marie the do^{r} of Thomas Miller of quhinns baptized.

The latter entry was the last he made as his own burial comes next in another hand—

Sunday ffebruary ye 23^{d} 1672 Mr. John Hammilton, Minnister off Thursby died and was buried in the Queer uppon Tuesday ye 25th ffollowing—

It has been mentioned that certain entries are recorded on the first leaf of this Register about the vicars of this parish. From them we gather the names of two vicars not mentioned elsewhere.

Richard Savage clericus was Inducted into the Vicaridge of Thursby the Sixth day of October Anno Dni
1673
Michael Hodgson clericus was Inducted into the Vicaridge of Thursby the ffifth day of May, Anno Dni
1674
William Atkinson clerk was Inducted into the Vicaridg of Thursby by Mr. Walker vicar of Dalston the 16th day of May Annoq: Doi
1679
Thos Stalker Clericus M^{r} of Arts Minor Canon of ye Cathedrall Church of Carlile was inducted into ye Vicaridg of Thursby the 23 day of Aprill Anno Dni
1680
Matthew Preston Cler: was Inducted into the Vicaridg of Thursby the eighteenth day of September 1685

* It may be explained that the place names in the Register, though disguised by quaint spelling, are in use still in the parish of Thursby, e.g. quhinns is the modern Whins; Nelus or Nilus is the Nealhouse of the Ordnance map: quhinno is Whinnow or Whinhow; mickellquhat is a variant of Micklethwaite, and so on with the other hamlets or farmsteads.

October

October the 14th the above sd Matthew Preston in the said Parish Church did read the declaration and acknowledgement required of Him by the Act of Parliament xiiijto Caroli 2dl (nuper) Regis &c entituled an act for the uniformaty of publique prayers and did likewise read the 39 Articles of the Church of England and declared his unfeigned assent and consent thereto.

The names of Michael Hodgson and William Atkinson do not appear in the usual lists of Incumbents* which may be accounted for by the rapidity with which they had come and gone. The memoranda of their inductions appear to be in the handwriting of each in turn, the name of George Theobalds not occuring till he enters it in its proper place in the body of the Register thus—

An account of ye Register Book of Thursby since Geo: Theobalds Cler: was inducted which was on Nov: 7: 1681

There is some interest attaching to Stalker, the former minor canon of Carlisle Cathedral, from his efforts to reform the method of record keeping which he found in vogue at Thursby. The entries of baptisms, marriages, and burials were made consecutively as they took place on the same page, but this did not come up to the new vicar's ideal. The following is a great credit to him :—

This Register book for ye parish of Thursby & ye adjacent parts of Westward was put into ye order following by me Tho: Stalker vicar at my induction ye 23 day of Apr
1680
Noting in ye first place ye Christnings In ye middle ye Marriages At ye end ye Burialls As for ye pts of Westward we doe Bury & baptize &c. at Thursby I note ym by their first letter
as
C for Curthwait W for Woodside H for Howrigg

* Both appear in a MS. list of Incumbents of Thursby in a note book kept by Bishop Nicolson, where the first is marked B.A. but of where does not appear: the second M.A. of Glasgow. NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

The

The reform did not last long as in a little over a year he was succeeded by Theobalds, who very soon drifted back to the former method which continues to the end of the Register.

It is worth while to notice the ecclesiastical arrangement for the convenience of the outlying districts of the extensive parish of Westward, the neighbouring church of Thursby serving as a chapel of ease at this date. There must have been an understanding between the respective Incumbents and a recognition by the Bishop, for the following entries occur on the last sheet of the Register—

Vicar, Tho: Stalker

The pish of Thursby has usually payd as followeth for ye offices following

ffor churching	0	0	6
ffor buryings	0	0	1*
ffor Marriages	0	1	0
ffor Buryings in ye Church or Quire ...	0	3	4
ffor a will whoever make it is due to ye Parson	0	1	0

The adjacent parts of Westward have annually pd. to ye vicar of Thursby as followeth

ffor churchings	0	0	6
ffor Buryings	0	1	0
ffor Mar:	0	1	0

Note yt ye Clerk has out of every Burying in ye adjacent pts	0	0	2
& out of every Mar:	0	0	2
If any other Mar: or buryings come fro' any other pish they pay for each as above	0	1	0

The pish Clarke of Thursby doth receive of every one yt raiseth Smook within ye aforesaide pish at Easter upon Demand tow pence.

The wages of a parish clerk in all the neighbouring parishes, and perhaps in most parishes of the Diocese of Carlisle, was two pence a smoke, that is, two pence for each household, the clerk collecting it himself. It is only within the last few years that the parish clerk of Wigton†

* This appears a strange sum: it is probably meant for one shilling.

† "The Monumental Inscriptions of Wigton Parish Church and Churchyard," Wigton, 1892; page x.

ceased

ceased to make his Easter rounds. Thomas Rittson was made parish clerk of Thursby in 1687.

The last entry in the book is the following

1753 January the seventh was John son of John Losh of Thursby buried

With this entry comes the end which is thus subscribed by the parish authorities—

This Register filled up, finished and signed by ye minister & churchwardens on January the seventh day 1753

Thomas Nicolson, Minister
James Scott } Church-
John Pearson } wardens.

I have to thank my friend and neighbour, the Rev. William Golling, the genial Vicar of Thursby, for ready access to his parish chest and for permission to make these notes from his carefully guarded archives.

APPENDIX I.

CHURCHWARDENS.

1673 John Studholme of ye Stepps
Edward Williamson
Mathew Ismay
John Williamson for John Hines House in Neelus
1674 Philip Mathew
John Richarley of ye Hill in Neelus
John Wilson of Crofton
John Walker of Michlethwaite
1675 Thomas Jefferson of Moor End
Tho: Jefferson of How
John Williamson of Whinnow
Tho: Gate of Parton
1676 John Robinson of ye back of ye Xch
John Ritson of ye Gate
Robt Williamson of Crofton
Tho: Richarby of Mickle
1677 George Barne

Will:

Will: Studholme
John Jackson
Thomas Twentyman
1678 Tho: Goldsmith, Mickle
Jo: Hodg: Croft
Jo: Boak, Hining
Ad: Jackson, Thursby
1679 John Studholme, Hining
Tho: Johnstone, Neelus
Tho: Robinson, Parton
George Wilson, Whinnow
1680 Willm: Tomson, Whinnah & Crofton
Edward Allison, Parton & Micklethwaite
Jo: How, Nelus & Hinning
Jo: Studdam of Steps
1684 Will: Richarbey
Jo: Robinson
Jo: Aston
Tho: Tiffin
1685 John Walker of Micklethwaite
Edward Jackson of Moorend
Thomas Bone of Whinnah
William Thompson of Moorside
1686 Tho: Robinson
Tho: Ismay
Jo: Tiffin
Robt Gate
1687 Philip Matthew
Mic: Hodgson
Jo: Townends
Jo: Williamson Junr
1688 John Rickerbey
George Barne
Jo: Wilson
George Porter
1689 Joseph Jackson
Joseph Williamson
John Robinson
Jo: Mathew
1690 Jo: Pearson
George Barn
Jo: Robinson
Rob: Scott
1691 Tho: Rickerby
Will: Barne
Jos: Rittson
Rich: Mathew
1692 John How of Thursbye
Robert Wilson for John Rickerby house of Nealehouse

John

John Wilson of Croft
..... Addison of Parton
1693 Edward Jackson of Thursbye
Thomas Thomlinson of Hinning Hill
Robert Stoddart of Whinnow
George Willson of Micklethwait
1694 William Matthew of Thursbye
Thomas Howe of Nealehouse
Robert Williamson of Crofton
John Atkinson of Whines
1695 John Studholme of Hinning
Tho: Losh of Thursbye
Edward Rittson of Whinnow
Thomas Wilson of Whins
1696 John Williamson of Eavening Hill
Edward Huntington of Nealehouse
John Hodge of Crofton
John Stoddart of Parton
1697 John Willson of Thursbye
John Williamson of Moorend
William Studholme of Whinnah
1698 Thomas Twentyman of Eaveninghill
John Pearson of Nealehouse
John Porter of Crofton
1699 Georg Willson of Whinnock in his quarter—25 houses
John Rittson of Thursby in his quarter—21 houses
John Robinson of Moorend in his quarter—20 houses
Joseph Jackson of Micklethwt in his quarter—21 houses
1700 John Lowson of Parton
Edward Rittson of Crofton
John Hinde of hill in Nealehouse
William Scott of Thursbye
1701 William Reid of Micklethwaite
Edward Willen of Whinnock
John Colthard of Thursby
John Wilson of Hinninghill
1702 John Robinson of Wood
William Thomson of Moorside
Robert Gate of Crofton
Thomas Ismay of Parton
1703 John Rickerby of Micklewhit
Edward Williamson of Whinnoh
John Robinson of Moorend for Robt Ismay of Thursby
Cuth: Steel, Nealhouse
1704 Francis Scot of Thursby
John Porter of Crofton
Thos: Jefferson for Parton
1705 William Rickerby of Nealhouse
..... Reed for a stone tenement att Moorside
Tho: Bawn of Whinhow

John

John Hodgshon of Micklewhitt
1706 Thomas Johnstone of Nealehouse
John Studholme of Hining
Thomas Mayson of Wampole Know
Tho : Robinson of Parton
1707 Richard Mathew
Joseph Jackson of Thorsby
John Townsend
Michaell Hodgshon of Micklewhit
1708 John Robinson of Nealehouse
Robert Liddall
Tho : Ritson of Crofton
John Ismey of Parton
1709 John Robinson of Thursby
John Thomlinson
Joseph Williamson
John Addyson
1710 John Rickerby of Nealhouse
Jo : Williamson of Thursby
John Porter of Crofton
Tho : Miller of Whins
1711 William Peal of Micklewhate
William Barne of Whinhow
Joseph Rickerby
Tho : Losh
1712 John Mathew
Hugh Clemetson
Thos : Ismey
1713 John Tiffin
John Robinson
Robert Nicholson
George Barne
1714 John Twentyman
Francis Wilson
John Wilson
Mungo Smith
1715 John Lowson
John Watson
John Williamson
John Ritson
1716 John Rickerby of Nealhouse
William Scott
John Williamson of Crofton
John Smith for Joseph Jackson, Townend
1717 John Wilson
John Robinson, Moorend
Robt : Nicholson for Tho : Wilson
Thomas Ismey of Parton
1718 Richard Miller
Joseph Mayson

John

John Hodge
John Hodgshon
1719 John How for Nealehouse
Joseph Brough
John Lowson
Edward Willan
1720 John Colthard
Thomas Studholme
William Thompson
John Wilson of Micklewhate
1721 John Robinson of Wood
John How of Nealehouse for Thursby
Joseph Williamson lowend of Whinhow
John Ismay of Parton
1722 William Pearson of Nealhouse
Robt Twentyman of Thursby
Lancelot Bouch for Crofton
George Ismey of Whins
1723 Cuthbert Steel
Tho: Losh
Jos: Williamson
Tho: Ismey
1724 John Colthard
William Gate
Joseph Jefferson, Whins
1725 John Brisco Esq
Francis Scot
John Studholme of Hining
William Barn of Newlands

APPENDIX II.

BRISCO ENTRIES.

1649 Oct 17 Elizabeth ye daughter of John Brisco & Annas his wife was baptized
1656 Mr Richard Gilpin & Mrs Susana Brisco of Crofton was married
1663 Sepr 9 Mr Henrie ffletcher of Tallantyre and Mistres Marie Brisco wer maryed be ane warrand from ye chancellor
1665 Feb. 2, Susan ye dor of Hendrie fletcher of Tallentyr wes baptized
1665 May 2 Susanna ye dor of Hendrie fletcher of Talentyr wes Buryed
1671 Decr 7 Roger Brisco of Creina and Catharin Brisco of raftoun wer maryed by ane Licence
1672 Sepbr 16 Wm the sone of Roger Brisco of Creina bapd
1673 Oct. 5 Mary daugher of John Brisco & his wife was baptized
1688 May 28 Was William Brisco of Crofton Esqr buryed
169$^{0}_{1}$ ffeb: ye 14 John Brisco Esq: dyed & was buryed in the Church porch of Thursby the 17 day of ffeb: ffollowing 1690

1691

1691 June ye 4th was Ruth ye dau: of John Briscoe of Crofton Buryed
1692 July 24 Susan ye dr of Jo: Brisco millner baptized
1693/4 Jan. 4 was William sonn of John Brisco of Crofton Esq buryed in the Church porch of Thursby Jan: ye 4 1693
" Jan 27 was Susan ye dau: of Jo: Brisco of Crofton buryed
1695 May 19 was Dorithy ye dau: of John Brisco Esqr of Crofton Hall Baptized (the words "Esqr" and "Hall" are a modern interpolation in a female hand).
1693/8 ffeb: ye 28 Richard ye sonn of John Brisco of Crofton ("hall" added later) Esqr. baptized
1700 Decr 19 was John ye sonn of John Brisco of Crofton Esqr baptized
1702 Decemb: 25 was Catherine ye daughter of John Briscoe of Crofton-hall Esqr bapt.
" December 28th was the same Catherine buryed
1703 Novemb: 12 was Dorithy ye daught of John Briscoe of Woodside buryed
1704 May 1st was William ye son of John Briscoe of Crofton-hall Esqr bapt
1706 May 1st was Catherine ye daughter of John Briscoe of Crofton-hall Esqr bapt:
1708 June 24 was Musgrave ye son of John Briscoe of Crofton-hall Esqr baptized
1709 July 30th was James ye son of John Brisco Esqr of Crofton-hall bapt:
1711 Decemb: 20 was Wastall ye son of John Brisco of Crofton Esqr bapt:
1713 Sept 14. was Ralfe ye son of John Brisco of Crofton-hall Esqr bapt
1715 June 11th was Tho: son of John Brisco Esq buryed
1717 July 10th was Ann ye daught: of John Brisco Esqr bapt:
July 12th was An ye daught: of John Brisco Esqr buryed
" Novemb: 28th, was Thomas Brisco & Mary Addyson of Parton marryed
1732 April 19th was married Mr John Holme & Mrs Catherine Brisco p License
1733 July 20th was buried Mrs Mercy Brisco of Crofton-hall
1737 September 29th were married Mr Ralph Brisco & Mrs Dorothy Rowlands by Lisence.
1741 October 18th was Mrs. Catherine Holmes, the wife of Mr John Holmes of Carlisle buried.
1749 March 9th was Jane of Thomas Brisco of Whins buried.

APPENDIX III.

MISCELLANEOUS ENTRIES.

1662 June 5 Catharine dor of Rot Lavrok borne in my hous was baptized
1662 June 8 Baptized a female of thomas Peete in Westward
1662 July 12 Maryed ffrances Clerk & his servant
1663 Octob: 6 Johne Ritsonn sclaiter died be falling from ane hous wes buryed in Cairlill
1665 Octob. 24 George Rayson of Dalston and Mat Ranling wes maryed
" Dec. 7. Andrew Cuninghame and Catharine Cuninghame both paroes of Glencairne in the shire of Dumfries be Vertue of a Licence from ye Chanclor wes maryed

1668

1668 Sept 11. Stevin Nicolson Traveller Buryed
1669 May 2. Mary the wife of Tho: Barwis buried
1669 Novr 28 Agnes Wilson of Thursbie buryed, judged by many to have used uiolence
1671 Appryll 24 Barbara Hammiltoun the dor of Mr Johne Hammiltoun Minister at thursbie departed this Lyfe at 10 hor of nyt and wes interred in ye queer the 26 day
1674 Mr Richard Savage Minister off Thursby buried at Caldbeck upon Satterday the 4th off Aprill 1674
,, Novr. 19th Mary daughter of John Barwis of Thursby buried
1675 Februa, 4. John Barwis of Thursby was buried.
,, May 12th Generall Chapter holden at Carlile by Mr R. Nicols Chan:
1676 Aprill 20th Generall Chapter holden at Carlile by R. Nicols, B.D. Ch:
1677 Jan. 5th George Rason of Crofton was buried
,, May 30 Thomas Goldsmith & Anna Maria Jackson was maryed
1685 Aprill the 25 Mr George Theobalds minister of Thursby died and was buried in the fre side of the quir upon Sunday 25th Aprill 1685
1688 July ye 12th Elizabeth the wife of Mr Preston vicar of Thursby was buryed in the south side of the Quire
1689 Arill 25 Gennerall Chapter holden at Carlile by Mr Tully Chanc:
1693 Mr Matthew Preston Minister of Thursbye dyed & was buried in ye south side of ye Quire the 18th day of Aprill 1693
,, July 10 Visitation holden at Carlile by his grace Lord Archbishop of Yorke Anno Dom: 1693
1698 Dec. 22 Bridget ye daughter of Mr Joseph Waite vicar of Thursby baptized
1705 Sept. 27 was Richard Bewick of Hexham & Mary Mayson of Wampool Know marry:
1710 May 29 was George Studholme & Dorothy Dalston marryed
1726 March 27th The Revd Mr Joseph Waite vicar of Thursby was buried
1727 Nov 4 was Mrs Bridget Waite late of Wigton buried
1728 Aug: 14 was Mary daughter of John Dalston of Micklewhaite buried.
1728-9 Jan: 28 were Joseph Willson and Bridget Martindale widow both of Blencogo in the Parish of Bromfield married by Licence from Mr Birket.

Memorand Aprill 24th 1732. Then were given in all Baptisms Marriages and Burials that have happened in ye year, at the Visitation Court of Carlile April 24 1732

Thos Nicolson, Curate
Matthew Harrison
John Rittson
Joseph Williamson
John Pearson
} Church-wardens.

1732 June 8th was Thomas of Thomas & Isabella Nicolson of the Vicarage-house of Thursby baptized.
,, March 1st was Joseph Rickerby and Ruth Harrison, both of this parish married by Publication.
1733 Apl 13 was held the General Chaptr Court at Carlile by Mr Waugh Chancellr.

1736

1736 All baptisms, marriages & burials were given in to the General Chapter Court at Carlile on May 17th 1737 by Joseph Jackson, John Robinson, John Addison and John Williamson Churchwardens.

,, June 28 was John Robinson of Wood married to Illiner Birrel, his servant woman at Stanwix Xch with a License by Mr Wardle.

1737 Feb. 9th were married Thomas Newton & Jane Enas, both of the Parish of Westward, they first being published three several Sundays in the said parish Xch of Westward as Mr Wm Hayton their minister by Certificate declareth.

1747 Xber yr 6th were John Donaldson a soulder in Guyes Regmt an Irishman & Sarah Richardson of Wampool Know of ye Parish of Thursby, in Cumberland married by publication & by Thomas Nicolson, Curate there.

APPENDIX IV.

COLLECTIONS.

(Undated) July 27 Collected in ye Church for ye relieve of John How junr the sum of eight shillings and sixpence.

1663 Aug: 6 Delyvered this day to Rot Blaymire high constable the collection for Hexam ellevin shillings as his acquittance bears.

1663 Septr 6 Collected for John Miller of workintoune three shillings.

1664 June 26, This day was collected 4s 3 haifpenneis for the use of 3 widows, Eliz: flegert ye relict of Geo: flegert, Mary ye relict of Jo hobert minr and Mrt ye relict of Mr frances . . . in ye Isle Beyoind ye 16 July 1663. Som pirats cam on shore at midaye and murdered ye husbands & brunt houses barns goods and chattells to the . . . . on thous: six hundred pounds.

1664 Octob 25 Collected this day for ye inhabitants of Cromer *alias* Shipden in the Countie of Norfolk, I say collected 3 5 3d.

1665 Aug: 3 Collected yis day for ye people visit wt pest 5s.

,, Aug: 6 Collected for floohbing (?) 8 grots.*

,, Sept 6 Collected for ye people visit wt ye pest 5s.

,, Octob. 4, Collected 13s. 6d.

,, Octob. 6, Collected yis day 5s & all sent in to Mr Buchannan.

1666 May 26 Collected this day for ye use of 3 widowes quhose husbands being capts & liuetents was Kilt in ye Kinges service on ye . . . 3 5 7.

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* NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—Probably for sufferers by the visitation of the plague in 1655 at Flookburgh. See *Annales Cuermolenses*, p. 125.

ART. III.—*Crosbie of Westmorland.* By F. B. GARNETT, C.B.

Communicated at Carlisle, August 8th, 1895.

UPON the walls of the old church of the Parish of St. Marylebone, built in 1741 to replace the former Church on the same site erected in the year 1400, dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, and noteworthy as having been illustrated by Hogarth about 1730 in his painting of "The Rake's Marriage," there are still to be seen more than 100 mural tablets, some of them having belonged to the former building, and the earliest dating back to 1644. These monuments of the dead, unique in character, and of great beauty and variety of design, were restored a few years ago at the expense of the Viscountess Ossington, who at the same time, in conjunction with the Dowager Lady Howard de Walden and the Duke of Portland, added two beautiful tablets to the memory of members of the Portland Family who are interred there.

Amongst these ancient memorials is a marble tablet, fixed on the west door screen, of an upright elongated oval shape measuring 25½ in. × 16¾ in., which bears the following quaint inscription in memory of a Westmorland man, the Rev. John Crosbie, who was Rector of the Parish and was buried 30th June, 1669 (Lysons' "Environs of London," vol. iii, p. 249).

Jacet

Jacet
Johannes Crosbie
Westmorlandiensis

Ortoniae
Gandaliae
Oxoniae
Londoni

Prog-
Discipli
Alum-
Patroci

natus

Artium Magister
Ecclesiae Minister

ὀρθόδξ

ortus Aprilis
13: 1597
Sepultus
30 Iuny; 1669
Aetatis sue
72

I have endeavoured to discover a record of the birth of John Crosbie at Orton, but it appears that the earliest Register for that Parish commences with the following heading:—

A Register book of all Christenings weddings and burialls from the Year of our Lord God 1596.

The first page of this book contains an entry of the sworne men of Orto' d'ni 1596, amongst whom is "Robert Crosbie," and the family of "Crosby" is named amongst those of the chief personages who were then substantial Yeomen living upon and cultivating their own freehold or customary estates at Orton (*Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, vol. XI, part ii.)*

The

The Rev. E. Holme, vicar of Orton, obligingly made special search for "Crosbie" entries and furnished me with the following particulars of baptisms in the Register of his Parish, viz.—

October	1596	Edward son of Leonard Crosbie.
January	1597	Thomas son of Adam Crosbie.
October	1601	Jefferay and Robert sons of John Crosby of Birkbeck Fells.
December	1607	John son of John Crosby.
August	1608	Thomas son of Geoffrey Crosby.

In a late Register Book was found—

January 30	1731	John Son of George Crosby of Tebay.
March 31	1731	John Son of Thomas Crosby of Corke lake.
August	1737	Edward Son of George Crosby of Tebay.

Observing that Birkbeck fells, of which place John Crosby is described in the Orton Registers, extends into the Parishes of Crosby Ravensworth and Shap, reference has been made to the Register of both places, without however discovering any entry of the baptism of John Crosbie, the date of whose birth as stated in the Monumental Inscription is confirmed by the Oxford Matriculation Register which gives

John Crosbie of Westmorland pleb. Queen's Coll Matric. 30 May 1617 aged 17 B.A. from Oriel Coll. 22 Nov. 1621, M.A. 20 Nov. 1624 (Foster's Alumni Oxonienses).

There is also in the same old church of St. Marylebone on the west wall of the gallery, a square shaped marble tablet measuring 24 in. × 20 in., on which appears the following inscription in memory of William Auther (*sic*) Crosbie Esq., who died 1784, but I am unaware whether he is of the same family as the former Rector.

In

In a Vault near this place
are deposited the Remains of
WILLIAM AUTHER CROSBIE Esqr.
late of this Parish;
who departed this Life,
February the 19th 1784;
Aged 50 Years.

The lamentable absence of ancient school lists at Kendal precludes the opportunity, in this and similar cases, of tracing early pupils, but we are not without evidence of the existence of the "Crosbie" family at Kendal in the 16th and 17th centuries, as will appear by the following extracts from "The Boke of Record."

Free Inhabitants of Kendal, Stramongate
John Crosbye
Henry Crosbye

SHEARMEN FREEMEN
1581 John Crosbie
Henrye Crosbie
1643 John Crosbie

MERCERS FREEMEN
10 Nov 1608 Jeffraye Crosbye habadasher of Natts jur

FELTMAKERS & HABADASHERS
Jeffrey Crosbye xx die Feb 1639

GLOVERS
Christoffer Crosbie 4 Aug 1625
Christopher Crosbye 27 Oct 1625
William Crosbye 9 Jan 1588

LABOURERS
28 Oct 1607 Geffraye Crosbye Jur
Christopher Crosbye (a Burgess 1588)

1615 James son of William Dorkin apprenticed to Geoffrey Crosbye hatmaker
1617 Thomas Crosbye late son of Geoffrey Crosbye
1618 Thomas son of William Jackson died & John Crosbye Glover

In conclusion I have to express my acknowledgments to Arthur F. G: Leveson Gower, Esq., H.M. Secretary of Legation at Athens, for valuable information in the matter, and for rubbings of the inscriptions which I am enabled to exhibit, and which were kindly furnished with the aid of the Rev. Grant E. Thomas, Incumbent of the Old Church of St. Marylebone.

ART. IV. — *Sites of Local Beacons. Cumberland and Westmorland* by THE PRESIDENT; *Lancashire north of the Sands* by H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, August 8th, 1895.

A LIST of Beacons in Cumberland and Westmorland in the fifteenth century is given in *Nicolson and Burn* i. p. xliv. n., and is as follows, but the notes are added by the President.

In Cumberland.

BLACKCOMB, 88. N.W.*—The top of Blackcomb is said to command a more extensive view than any other point in Britain. Fourteen counties of England and Scotland are visible from it; and Ireland has been seen. *Jefferson's History of Allerdale above Derwent,* p. 127. Blackcomb, it may be mentioned, is visible and could signal to Skiddaw.

BOOTLE, 85. S.E.—Called also Butle, Bothill, or Botyll, *Jefferson's History of Allerdale above Derwent,* 124. The beacon is said to be on the hill over the town: a description which might apply to Blackcomb.

MUNCASTER FELL, 82. N.E. — Also mentioned as a beacon by Thomas Denton in his MS. History of Cumberland, 1688.

ST. BEES' HEAD, 67. S.W.—The north head must be meant, on which the present lighthouse stands. Also mentioned as a beacon by Thomas Denton, etc.

WORKINGTON HILL, 53. S.W.—No doubt the beacon was on Workington Chapel Hill (St. Michael's Mount), where is an old tower, which probably was the beacon, *Jefferson's Allerdale above Derwent,* 243. Also mentioned by Thomas Denton.

* The references are to the quarters of the 6 inch Ordnance Survey.

MOOTHAY

MOOTHAY, 46. N.W.—Moota Hill, on the top of Moota Common. Also mentioned by Thomas Denton.

SKIDDAW, 56. N.W.—During the Jubilee Year when bonfires were lit upon most of the sites of old beacons, it was found that one beacon on Skiddaw would have been of little use; a fire on the summit at the Great Man would not be visible to the south, while one on the Little Man would not show to the north, so that two at least would be necessary, with probably a third on the Dodd, open to the coast.

SANDALE TOP, 37, S.W.—Also mentioned by Thomas Denton.

CARLISLE CASTLE, 23. N.E.—Mentioned by Thomas Denton, as "Carlisle Castle High Tower."

LINGY CLOSE HEAD, 23. S.W.

BEACON HILL, PENRITH. 59. N.W. — The present beacon tower at Penrith was erected in 1719. *Jefferson's History of Leath Ward*, p. 78. Mentioned by Thomas Denton, as "Penrith he fell."

DALE RAUGHTON, 40. S.E.—Now Dale Raven on Ordnance map: see John Denton's *Account of Cumberland*, published by the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, pp. 122. n. 125. The actual site would probably be the high ground above the farm house of Old Parks, Kirkoswald, 660 feet in altitude, and visible all round for miles.

BRAMPTON MOTE, 18. N.W.

SPADEADAM TOP, 8. S.W.—Now known as Gillalees Beacon.

In Westmorland.

STAINMORE TOP.

ORTON SCAR.—"Upon the highest part of Orton Scar is the beacon which hath been a building about three yards long within and two yards and a half wide. It communicates with the beacons of Penrith, Stainmore, and Whinfell

Whinfell (in the barony of Kendal). And by means of these beacons, when watches were kept up, intelligence might be conveyed thirty or forty miles in a few minutes." Nicolson and Burn, I. pp. 490-1.

WHINFELL, 28. S.W.

FARLETON KNOTT, 47, N.W.

HARDKNOTT.—Hardknott is in Cumberland, 80. S.W., not in Westmorland, and could pick up signals from the Cumberland coast.

These nineteen beacons form a complete system, giving in most cases alternate lines: thus if fog or other causes hindered Carlisle Castle from picking up a signal from Penrith Beacon, yet it could probably get it from Dale Raughton or Brampton Mote, to which last place it would have been repeated from Penrith Beacon bv Dale Raughton. By Brampton Mote the system would connect with Northumberland; by Stainmore Top with Yorkshire; and by Farleton Knott and Blackcomb with Lancashire. It is doubtful whether Skiddaw ever played any great part as a beacon; its height, the difficulty of carrying up fuel, and the want of shelter for watchers would hinder it from being so used except in times of great excitement, such as preceded the arrival of the Great Armada. Nor is it necessary to the completeness of the system: news could travel in every direction by lines of beacons which avoided Skiddaw, and were situated on hills of 600 or 700 feet in altitude, easy of access for horse and cart, and nigh to buildings where the keepers and watchers of the beacons would reside.

The list given above is not exhaustive: from other sources we get the following sites of beacons.

In Cumberland.

BEWCASTLE, 4. S.W.—This is to the north of Spadeadam Top (Gillalees) Beacon, and must have carried signals on to Scotland. Ordnance Survey.

BOTHELL

BOTHELL IN TORPENHOW, 46. N.E. — This beacon commanded the sea coast from Maryport to Bowness, repeating inland. Ordnance Survey.

BEACON HILL IN RAUGHTON AND GATESHILL, 30. S.E. --This is marked Beacon Hill in Ordnance Survey in plain lettering, not in old English, but there is no reason why a beacon should not have been here: it would show to Lingy Close Head, Carlisle Castle, and other beacons. It is mentioned by Thomas Denton, as "Beaconhill by Hiuegill (Ivegill)."

BEACON HILL, ASPATRIA, 36. N.E.—Also in modern lettering in Ordnance Survey.

HARESCEUGH FELL, 41. N.W. — Ordnance Survey, where it is called Daffenside Beacon.

NEWTON KNOTT, 82. S.E.—Ordnance Survey. The Knott is artificially scarped, and must have been a leading mark by which mariners made the harbour of Ravenglass; the Knott probably carried a light at night.

BARROCK FELL, 31. S.W.—Signals by bonfires were made here during the siege of Carlisle in 1644-5, for the benefit of the besieged, but it does not appear to have been a regular beacon.

In Westmorland.

HELTON BEACON.—Nicolson and Burn's map of Westmorland.

BARBON BEACON.—Nicolson and Burn's map of Westmorland.

N.B.—Watchhill.—Places of this name abound, but do not seem to have been beacons, or part of the national system of defence, but were rather intended to guard their immediate neighbourhood against raiders, etc., and gave the alarm by blowing horns and ringing bells.

In Lancashire, north of Sands.

Beacons.

BLAWITH (near Beacon Tarn), 7. N.E.

CARTMEL

CARTMEL (i. m. E. of the Priory), 17. N.E.
CONISTON OLD MAN, 4. N.W.
FURNESS ABBEY, 21. N.E.
GLEASTON, 22. N.W.
? HIGH HAUME, near Ireleth ? 16. W.
LOWICK, 11. N.E.
PIEL CASTLE, 28. N.W.
RAMPSIDE, 28. N.W.
WALNEY ISLAND (the "Brow"), 21. S.E.

The beacons of Furness Abbey and Piel would be kept up by the Abbot of Furness. At Cartmel by the Prior. That at Gleaston by the Lords of Muchland. These, with Rampside, would transmit signals across Morecambe Bay.

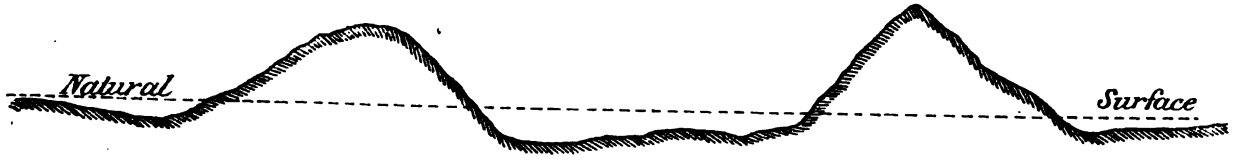
I know of no old list of Lonsdale beacons. Baines (*History of Lancashire*) states Coniston Old Man was a beacon. On High Haume, near Ireleth, is a singular mound ditched round. It seems to have had a building on it. The remainder are marked in Ordnance Survey, in ordinary lettering, "Beacon" or "Beacon hill," these being the popular names.

H.S.C.

ART. V.—*The Bishop's or Baron's Dyke, Crosby-on-Eden.* BY T. H. HODGSON.

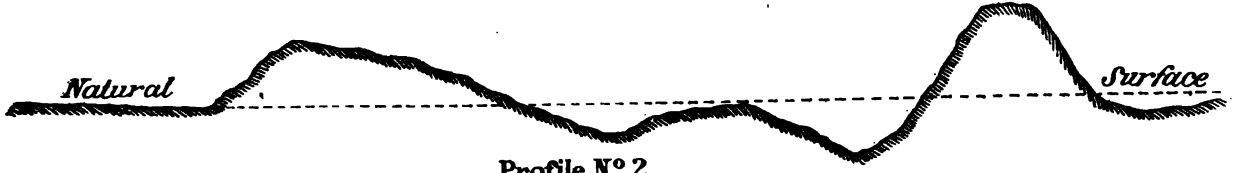
Read at that place August 9th, 1895.

BETWEEN Bleatarn and White Moss the Roman wall and vallum are crossed by a mediæval boundary known as the Bishop's or Baron's Dyke, which was, and indeed is, the dividing line between the Bishop of Carlisle's Manor (or barony) of Linstock and the Barony of Gilsland. Near the wall it is not very noticeable, and to anyone not knowing the country appears little more than an ordinary headrigg on which some trees have been planted. For most of its course it has been more or less destroyed, though it is alwavs marked by a fence which is to this day the parish (and Manor) boundary. But about a mile and a half to the south of the wall, not far from Newby, for some three or four hundred yards the dyke is in a fairly good state of preservation, and I have thought that a profile (of which two are given here) shewing its construction may be of some interest in connection with the explorations of the Roman vallum, of which this dyke is pretty much a reduced copy. Mr. Seebohm remarks (*The English Village Community*, p. 9) speaking of the description of boundaries given in a presentment made by the jury of the Manor of Hitchin in 1819, "the form in which these boundaries are given is of great antiquity. It is a form used by the Romans two thousand years ago, and almost continuously followed from that time to this." Now, as we see that the form of verbal description of boundaries used by the Romans has been in use continously to the present day, it does not seem unlikely that the material form of the boundary lines used by them should be also followed. I think no one can fail to be struck by the resemblance of the Baron's Dyke, a known mediæval



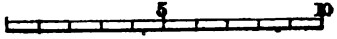
Profile No. 1.

West East



Profile No. 2.

The Bishop's or Baron's Dyke, Crosby-on-Eden.



Scale of feet

mediœval boundary, to the Roman vallum, and this appears to me to give considerable support to the views of those who hold that the vallum was constructed as a boundary rather than as a military work.

The Baron's Dyke consists of two parallel mounds running nearly north and south, with a space between them of about 10 feet between the bases of the interior slopes. The distance between the axes of the mounds is about 20 feet and the distance from the base of exterior slope of east mound to the base of exterior slope of west mound, or "overall," is about 30 feet. The mounds are about four to five feet above the surface, the east mound being the highest, but this may be accidental and due to the wear of centuries. They appear to have been formed of earth thrown out of a ditch at their interior bases, the space between the mounds not being as in the vallum occupied by one great ditch; there are most distinctly two, with a strip of apparently original surface between them. It is possible also that some soil may have been thrown up from the exterior, as in most places the ground seems to slope, though very slightly, towards the mounds. There is a ditch at the base of each interior slope, very small on the west, one of considerable size on the east. These, however, appear to be of modern construction for the purposes of drainage, and as they do not seem to have formed any part of the original design they have been omitted from the profiles, which will give the best notion of the construction of this boundary. It will be seen that the difference between it and the Vallum consists (1) in the absence of the third mound usually found in the Vallum; (2) the two interior ditches instead of the one great ditch of the Vallum. Otherwise it strongly resembles that work, but on a smaller scale, and to me, at least, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the design was suggested by the Vallum which at the date of the erection of the Baron's Dyke must have been in a fairly perfect condition.

EXCURSIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

THURSDAY AND FRIDAY, AUGUST 8th & 9th, 1895.

THE annual meeting and first two days' excursion of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society for 1895, was held on Thursday and Friday, August 8th and 9th. It had been arranged that the members and their friends should meet at Carlisle for the purpose of visiting the remains of the Roman Wall in Cumberland, and the principal papers laid before the members bore specially upon that subject. Fortunately the weather on the first day was everything that could be wished, and the gathering of members and their friends was the largest that has been seen of recent years. Amongst those present were the President, Chancellor Ferguson, and Miss Ferguson; the Rev. Dr. Magrath, Provost of Queen's College and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford; Sir James Ramsay, Bart., Banff; Professor Pelham, F.S.A., Oxford; the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness, Mrs. Ware, and party; the Misses Henderson, the Deanery; Sir Wilfred, Lady Lawson, and party, Brayton; Mrs. Prescott, the Abbey, Carlisle; Mr. Haverfield, F.S.A., Oxford; the Rev. H. Whitehead, Lanercost; Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Hodgson, Newby Grange; Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Collingwood, Coniston; Mr. and the Misses Ferguson, Cardew Lodge; Mrs. and Miss Carrick, Oakbank; the Rev. Adam Wright, Gilsland; Dr. W. H. R. Kerry and Mrs. Kerry, Windermere; Mr. McInnes and party, Rickerby; Rev. W. B. Grenside, Melling Vicarage; Mr. and Mrs. Harrison, Newby Bridge House; Miss Gough, Mealsgate; the Rev. T. O. Sturkey, Kirkandrews-on-Eden; Mr. and Mrs. Robinson, Sedbergh; the Rev. S. R. G. Green and Miss Green, Croglin Rectory; the Rev. A. J. Loftie, Great Salkeld Rectory; Captain and Mrs. Broadhurst, Houghton House, Carlisle; Mr. and Mrs. Podmore, Grange-over-Sands; Mr. J. Simpson, Cockermouth; Miss Ullock, Windermere; Mr. W. S. M. Townley, Grange-over-Sands; the Rev. D. Harrison, Cockermouth; the Misses Noble, Beckfoot, Penrith; Mr. and Mrs. Amos Beardsley, Grange-over-Sands; the Rev. Cecil V. Goddard, Dorset; Mr. Joseph Cartmell, Brigham; Mrs. and the Misses Robinson, Green Lane; Dr. John Peile, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge; Dr. Mason, Windermere;

mere; Mr. E. T. Tyson, Maryport; Mr. G. Watson, Penrith; Mr. R. Bateman, Tullie House; Miss Johnson and party, The Beeches; Mr. J. H. Nicholson, M.A., Wilmslow; the Rev. R. Bower, M.A., Carlisle; Mr. and Miss Johnston, Preston; Mrs. Hartley, Holmgarth, Morecambe; Mr. J. Little, Maryport; Dr. J. Macdonald, Dumfries; Mr. J. Simpson Yeates, Penrith; Mr. A. B. Clark, Aspatria; Colonel Sewell, Brandlingill; Mr. W. I. R. Crowder, Stanwix; the Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., Aspatria; Miss H. M. Donald and Miss Macmichael, Stanwix; the Rev. John Baker, Burgh; Mr. D. Butt, Carlisle; and Mr. T. Wilson, hon. sec., Aynam Lodge, Kendal,

The party met at the Citadel Station, Carlisle, and proceeded by the 12-15 p.m train to Gilsland, where the remains near the station were examined under the guidance of the President and the Rev. A. Wright, after which carriages were taken for the camp at Birdoswald, which was described by the President; and Mr. F. Haverfield, F.S.A., explained the inscribed and sculptured stones preserved there. Appletree was next visited, and there the President called attention to the puzzling fourth or extra *agger*, which is seen there in front of the *Vallum*, and described the proposed excavations, then about to be commenced. The party next drove to Lanercost Priory, which was reached shortly after four o'clock. They had tea in the Dacre Hall, after which Professor Pelham, F.S.A., read a paper on "The Roman Frontier System," which will be printed in these *Transactions*, He was followed by Sir James Ramsay with a paper entitled "Who built the Roman Wall," in which he advocated the claims of Severus.

On the proposal of Mr. MacInnes, Professor Pelham and Sir James Ramsay received the thanks of the meeting for their papers. A portion of the party then visited the priory church, which was described by Mr. C. J. Ferguson, F.S.A.; while others inspected an early burial place on Lanercost Green, which had been discovered that day by the Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A. The party then re-entered the carriages and drove to Brampton Station, where the train was taken for Carlisle, which was reached at 7-30.

Dinner was at the Central Hotel. About sixty ladies and gentlemen sat down.

After dinner the annual meeting was held; the President, Chancellor Ferguson, in the chair. All the officers were re-appointed. The following new members were elected:—Archdeacon Phillips, Barrow-in-Furness; Mrs. Hesketh Hodgson, Newby Grange; Mr. W. King, Portinscale; Mr. J. Simpson, Cockermouth; and Mr. Podmore, Grange-over-Sands. Mr. Goddard exhibited a small horse shoe

shoe found at Mayborough, near Penrith, and also some small pieces of slag found in the same neighbourhood, probably the refuse of some bloomery that may have at one time existed in that neighbourhood. The President exhibited a gold ring, and some gold coins found in Carlisle. The following papers were laid before the Society and some of them read.

Report of Congress of Archæological Societies in London. THE PRESIDENT.
Proposed Ethnographical Survey. H. BARNES, M.D.
The Earliest Register of the Parish of Thursby. THE REV. J. WILSON.
The Parish Registers of Brampton Deanery. THE REV. H. WHITEHEAD.
Norman Remains at Carlisle Cathedral. C. J. FERGUSON, F.S.A.
Sepulchral Slab from Croglin. REV. R. S. G. GREEN.
Beacons in Cumberland and Westmorland. THE PRESIDENT.
Beacons in North Lancashire. H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.
More Notes on Winder of Lorton. F. A. WINDER.
The Crosbie Family of Westmorland. F. B. GARNETT, C.B.
The Postlethwaites of Pennsylvania. W. M. POSTLETHWAITE, D.D., Professor of History at West Point, New York.

There was not quite so large an attendance of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society on Friday, the 9th, nor was the weather so favourable as on Thursday. The party, headed by Chancellor Ferguson, went to Brampton by the 10-10 a.m. train, the carriages being in waiting at Brampton Station on the arrival of the train. The object in view was to resume inspection of the Roman Wall and the Vallum at Lanercost, where Thursday's tour had terminated, and to continue the journey along the wall to Carlisle. Between Lanercost and Carlisle, however, both Wall and Vallum run through enclosed and cultivated country to a great extent, so that it was not possible, with carriages, to follow the line so closely as had been the case between Gilsland and Lanercost. Driving past Lanercost Abbey the Wall was seen near Garthside, and again, further on, the road crossed it at Holly Bank: The Wall was on the north side of the road as far as Dovecote Bridge, and up the hill to Walton, while the Vallum was on the south side. From Walton, where Mr. F. P. Johnson met the party, most of them walked by way of Sandysike to Castlesteads Camp, Mr. Johnson explaining the various points *en route*. Coming to the river Cambeck, where the Wall crosses the river at the dam, one of the prettiest pieces of scenery in the district was admired by all. Though a pelting shower fell at this time nothing could restrain the more enthusiastic members of the party from crossing the river by the stepping stones and examining the further course of the Wall, on the site of which many farmhouses, built of its stones, stand. The various

various contingents of antiquaries wended their way afterwards to Castlesteads, where Mr. Johnson cordially received the dripping party. After an hour's halt, during which waterproofs and garments had been dried, a start was made, amid cheers for Mr. Johnson, for Irthington, where the Church and the Anglo-Saxon mound were examined, under guidance of the President.

Speaking at the base of the mound, Chancellor Ferguson said it was a singular place, not Roman, but Anglo-Saxon. The Anglo-Saxons came here before the Danes, and settled in the best parts of the country. They could be recognised by the termination "ton" or town—Irthington, Distington, Workington, and so on, there being about fifteen in all. The Danes came later, their settlements are known by the termination "by"—Tarraby, Rickerby, Botcherby. The English, Danish, and Norsemen were in the habit of throwing up big mounds like this one. Archdeacon Cooper had one in his garden at Kendal, Bishop Ware had one at Kirkby Lonsdale, and there was a large one at Addingham. On the top the Thane erected his house, while below he kept his cattle. The place would be fenced against wolves and against the Celtic and Irish inhabitants of the district; and when he retired for the night he would shut up his stockade, pull up his drawbridge, and protect himself against his slaves.

The Roman road at Buckjumping was next passed, the party then driving to Old Wall and on to Bleatarn, where some excavations are being made, an account of which will appear in this volume.

At the gateway leading out of the field at Bleatarn the Bishop's or Baron's Dyke, dividing the Barony of Gilsland from the Bishop's Manors, was described and pointed out by Mr. T. H. Hodgson. The party then drove along the Wall by White Moss to Walby. Flags in Brunstock Park denoted the positions of excavations made last year. The road crosses the Vallum near the end of Brunstock Lane and again at the Boot, while Drawdykes Castle is on the Vallum. Passing these points Stanwix was reached, and in Mr. Crowder's garden the party inspected a portion of the foundations of the Wall which have been unearthed and railed round. Proceeding through Mr. Dove's garden, Chancellor Ferguson explained the course of the Wall down to the Eden and over the holmes to the Bone Mill, and he also gave a description of the course of the Vallum which descends to the river close to the Eden north end Bridge. At this place the meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to the Chancellor for the skilful manner in which he had conducted the party throughout. Time prevented the journey being continued to the end of the Wall at Bowness, and Carlisle was reached about half-past five in the afternoon.

MONDAY

MONDAY AND TUESDAY, SEPT. 23rd & 24th, 1895.

The second excursion of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society was held in the Low Furness district. The interesting programme and the splendid weather induced a very large number of members to attend, and on this the committee for local arrangements, which consisted of the President, Mr. John Fell, Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., and Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., may be congratulated. The first day the Society were fortunate in having Mr. St. John Hope, the secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, one of the foremost living authorities on Cistercian Abbeys, to explain the various parts of the abbey of Furness, and much new light was thrown on the uses and history of the various buildings. For the second day an extensive driving tour was arranged. The following members and their friends attended:—The Worshipful Chancellor Ferguson, President; Lady Evelyn Cavendish and Miss Lascelles, Holker Hall; Dr. Barber; Mr. and Mrs. James Harrison, Newby Bridge; Mr. J. W. Fawcett, Broughton House; Mr. W. L. Fletcher, Workington; Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Collingwood, Coniston; Mr. T. Horrocks and party, Eden Brows; Rev. R. B. Billinge, Urswick; Mr. F. B. Garnett, C.B., and Mr. F. Garnett, jun., London; Rev. and Mrs. L. Garnett, Chiselton; Mr. and Mrs. J. Wrigley, Seascale; Dr. Sinclair, Barrow; Mr. W. H. Crewdson, Kendal; Mr. and Mrs. John Fell, Ulverston; Mr. and Mrs. J. Swainson, Kendal; Rev. J. M. Morgan, Dalton; Miss Holt, Coniston; Mr. C. B. Daniell, Ulverston; Miss Gibson, Whelprigg; Miss Tunstall, Casterton Grange; Mr. J. Cartmell, C.E., Brigham; Mr. T. S. Ritson, Maryport; Rev. R. S. G. Green and Miss Green, Croglin; Mr. Eirikr Magnusson, M.A.; Mr. W. H. R. Kerry, Windermere; Mr. H. Gaythorpe, Barrow; Dr. and Mrs. Beardsley, Grange; Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Beardsley, Grange; Mr. Podmore, Grange; Mr. W. G. M. Townley, Grange; Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Curwen, Kendal; Mr. W. O. Roper, Lancaster; Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., Yewfield Castle, Hawkshead; Venerable Archdeacon and Miss Phillips, Barrow-in-Furness; Rev. Canon Hayman, Aldingham; Mr. Brown, Barrow; Mr. W. H. Hills, Ambleside; Dr. Little, Maryport; Mrs. Hartley, Morecambe; Miss F. M. Johnson, Morecambe; Mr. G. Watson, Penrith; Miss H. M. Donald, Stanwix; Mr. T. Wilson and Miss Wilson, Kendal; Mr. and Mrs. Perowne; Mr. T. A. Argles, Milnthorpe; Capt. and Mrs. Hunt, Urswick; Mr. J. H. and Miss Nicholson, Wilmslow; Mr. and Mrs. W. Hoggarth, Upton Bishop; Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., South Shields; Rev. L. R. Ayre, Ulverston; Rev. W. Harrison, Barbon; Mr. R. J. Whitwell, Kendal; Messrs E. and A. Wadham; Mr. Stables; Mr. Hawcridge; Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Gandy, Heaves, and others. The proecedings

proceedings began at two o'clock on Monday, at which hour Mr. Hope took a position near the so-called Abbot's Chapel, and commenced his description of the buildings. His next station was at the great gatehouse, whence he proceeded in order to the church, the cloister, the chapter house, the fraters, kitchens, and other buildings round the cloister, the Abbot's lodgings, and the firmary or residence of the old and infirm monks. Mr. Hope explained in his usual lucid manner the uses of the various parts of the great building, and the excavations which had been made by the Society under his superintendence in anticipation of the meeting: he also earnestly advocated further excavations. He concluded his remarks in the extremely beautiful chapel of the firmary, which some would not believe was such, but for absolute proof he pointed out the credence table with a piscina on each side. In the chapel was shown a huge earthen crook—found in the recent excavations in the presbytery and containing human remains,—also the effigies of a pair of knights, probably local work, and unique in the disposition of the body and in the cylindrical helmet. Another figure was that of a Cistercian deacon, clad in the alb with girdle, and wearing the stole crosswise, and a book in the right hand. This was absolutely unique. In a box were two figures, a knight of the 14th century in full armour, and his lady. Mr. Hope's allocation of some of the buildings differs considerably from that given in the existing guide books, but will, when published, probably have the support of all experts in the "Cistercian Rule." On the conclusion of Mr. Hope's address, which was listened for over two hours by a delighted audience, Chancellor Ferguson observed that at some future time the Society would like to excavate more fully, and he was sure Mr. Hope would then be able to give them much more valuable information. The cost of additional excavations would be about £200, and the Council of the Society would be prepared to assist with £50, he would give £5, and Mr. Victor Cavendish, M.P., would be willing to assist, and perhaps the necessary funds would be obtainable before next spring. On behalf of the Society he begged to thank Mr. Hope for his address, and for all the trouble he had taken.

After tea at the hotel the party were conveyed by special train to Piel Pier, and thence by a number of yachts across to the island to viewthe castle. Mr. St. John Hope again proved a learned cicerone to the party.

Piel Castle or Pile of Fouldry.

The Pile of Fouldry he said, had perished to a great extent by the washing of the sea, but it was, no doubt, an Edwardian castle of the concentric type. It had a curtain wall of which parts are still existing, then an inner court with the remains

remains of a chapel. The entrance must have been on the part which has been swept away by the sea, but the inner entrance to the second court was put at the opposite side. This latter entrance was defended by a drawbridge worked on a pivot and falling on the stone pier opposite, and also by a portcullis. The castle agreed in all respects with its date, 1327, as given by Camden, and was of one date. Passing the barbican the keep was divided longitudinally into three parts, a cellar, a first floor with unusually large windows, which quite destroyed the strength of the place once an invader had got past the portcullis, and a second floor. On the first floor was a fine 14th century fireplace. The floors were of wood. Curiously the cellars had no entrance except from the second floor. There were no signs of great comfort; in fact, said Mr. Hope, it was one of the most barracky castles he had ever seen. On the other side, nearest the sea, a similar set of rooms has been almost washed away. In the middle was a long narrow room, probably for stores.

The annual dinner took place in the evening, the Worshipful Chancellor Ferguson presiding. After dinner the following new members were elected, viz.: Mr. Victor Cavendish, M.P., Holker Hall, Cartmel; Mrs. Woodburne, Thurstonville, Greenodd, Ulverston; Mr. Harper Gaythorpe, 12, Harrison Street, Barrow-in-Furness; Mr. T. S. Ritson, Ridgemount, Maryport; Mr. Theobald Fitzwalter Butler, Infield, Barrow; Mr. George Patrickson, Scales, Ulverston; Mr. Charles Walter Dean, Beech Bank, Ulverston; Mr. George Suart, Station Road, Workington; Mr. Batie Towers, Peter Street, Workington; Mr. Arthur Hawcridge, Superintendent of Schools, Barrow; Mr. Edward S. M. Perowne, 50, Cambridge Gardens, North Kensington, W.; Miss E. G. Holt, Sudley, Mossley Hill, Liverpool; Mr. E. Wadham, Millwood, Barrow; Mr. F. J. Ramsden, Abbotswood, Barrow; Mr. Henry Clough, Stanwix, Carlisle; and Mr. Ferdinand Hudleston, Hutton John, Penrith.

A letter from Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., one of the secretaries of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, asking for the co-operation of this Society in a pilgrimage along the Roman Wall in 1896, was read and referred to the following committee:—The President; Mr. T. H. Hodgson, Newby Grange; and the Rev. A. Wright, with power to add to their number.

Reports on excavations at Bleatarn, Appletree, and Lanercost were submitted, and Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., proceeded to read an interesting paper, entitled "MS. (XVII Century) Epistles of Early Friends." The next two items on the agenda were papers by Dr. Haswell. Unfortunately Dr. Haswell was unable to be present, and one of his papers on "The Heraldry in Hornby Hall" was read by Mr. T. Wilson, Hon. Sec. The other papers were taken as read, and the proceedings terminated.

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The attendance on the second day of the meeting was not quite so large, and owing to the excessive heat a portion of the programme was omitted. Stainton Old Hall was first visited and the many curiosities there carefully inspected, as was also the cockpit on the common. At Hawkfield, where a halt was made, a fine font is—sad to say—doing duty as a flower vase, while some fragments of window tracery are built up into a very queer composition, which pretends to be a church window. Urswick Stone Walls and Pennington Castlehill were visited and described by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A. Lunch came off at Dalton, after which the Church and Castle were visited, and a brief glance was given at St. Helen's Church *en route* to the Abbey, where the meeting terminated.

ART. VI.—*MS. (XVII century) Epistles of Early Friends.* By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.

Read at Furness Abbey Hotel, Sept. 23rd, 1895.

GEORGE FOX and his disciples, over two centuries ago, used, like the apostles of the primitive church, to write Epistles; which their co-religionists valued as inspired, and circulated from meeting to meeting in manuscript. Before Quakerism was twenty years old, collections of these Epistles began to be made. One, perhaps the first, certainly among the first, was that of JOHN SPOORE, a Somersetshire schoolmaster; he fair-copied a number of them, and formed as it were a supplementary Bible for the nascent church. In 1675 he handed over his collection to his pupil JOHN WHITING, who continued it, and following in his master's steps became the chief collector of Quaker literature,—his *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, 1708, being the standard bibliography until the appearance of Joseph Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue* in 1867.

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JOHN SPOORE'S book, continued by JOHN WHITING,—The Epistles of the first Evangelists and Martyrs of the new Gospel,—was lost, and many of its pieces, so far as I can learn, were never printed. It was found some time ago in Jersey by Mr. Hugh Anderson, who kindly sent it to me: but since its interest nowadays is chiefly antiquarian, I have placed it in the Bibliotheca Jacksoniana as a contemporary record of some remarkable north countrymen in the XVII century.

It is a volume of 241 pages in antique court-calligraphy, containing, among others, letters signed by GEORGE FOX and MARGARET FELL of Swarthmoor; also by men about whom I need say nothing, as their lives are given in

Chancellor

Chancellor Ferguson's *Early Cumberland and Westmorland Friends*: namely, JOHN AUDLAND of Kendal, EDWARD BURROUGH of Underbarrow, GEORGE WHITEHEAD of Orton, and JOHN CAMM of Camsgill, who here writes "For freinds about Oulston (Ulverston), Kendelshire, Bristoll, and elsewhere." It contains also materials,—otherwise, I believe, unknown,—for records of two Furness men, who do not come into the scope of the Chancellor's work, and yet deserve a niche among the worthies of our district.

THOMAS SALTHOUSE, born, Smith says, about 1630, at Drugglibeck, Lancashire (Dragley Beck near Ulverston), here is represented by "An epistle to friends in ye north country . . . . in their meetings at Swarthmore and elsewhere in Lancashire, Westmoreland and Cumberland," dated from "Ivelchester Goale, 12-6mo.-1657." Set free from prison he writes from Reading and "Kendalshire" in 1658, and from Scalehouse near Skipton in 1659: but we find him back in the same gaol in 1660, spending his Christmas-day, or as he dates it "25-12 mo.-1660," in writing consolation to his fellow sufferers "in every desert, den, & cabbin to wch many of you are by constraint confined for yor obedience to ye command of Christ." He tells how "my dear Brother J. S[taffe] & I have been under Restraint near two months at this place, in wch time ye number of prisoners have Increased insomuch y^t we are near two hundred freinds in prison in this place." One is glad to find by Smith's brief record that the writer of these cheery and kindly letters survived this imprisonment by some thirty years, dying in 1690.

His friend JOHN STAFFE (not mentioned in Smith, nor in Tuke's *Biographical Notices*, 1815), seems to have been a comrade also of John Spoore, the beginner of this collection of letters. We find him writing "To the generall assembley & church of ye first Borne wth in Westmoreland & Comberland," 14-3 mo.-1658; and "To all

all ye called of ye Lord in and about Hutton, Preston, Underbarrow, Kendall, Grarigg, & Sedber," and he dates another letter "Cumberland, 12-8 mo.-1659." So that, if not a native, he was for some time a resident in our district.

The other Furness worthy is WILLIAM CATON, who was educated along with young Fell at Swarthmoor, and at the age of 17 or 18 was converted by George Fox. Before he was twenty he had travelled on foot throughout England and Scotland as an evangelist, had preached at Calais with a Scotch nobleman to interpret, and at Flushing and Amsterdam, the first Quaker to set foot in Holland. The rest of his short life, some nine years more, was spent in journeyings, and imprisonments, and perils by land and sea, for he went frequently to the Continent,—indeed he ultimately married a Dutch girl, Annekin Dirricks of Amsterdam (see Tuke's *Biographical Notices*). From him we have a report of adventures at Zutphen, a town whose name reminds us of another good Englishman, traditionally connected with Furness, as a visitor to Coniston Hall,—I mean Sir Philip Sidney. This letter gives an insight into the Quakers' methods of missionary work,—that is to say, in spite of misrepresentations, *modern* missionary work in its first beginnings: and William Caton's phrasing (*e.g.* "boulted the doore of us") and pronunciation (*e.g.* "Lowes" for "laws"), curiously recall, to any who have heard them, those country preachers who, though not of the 'Society,' are the true spiritual descendants of the fiery-hearted Quaker apostles. He writes (and Whiting's copy bears the stamp of editorial exactitude):—

"Amsterdam in Holand the 3 day 5th moneth (1657).

" . . . My Deare Brother William Ames and I have bine through some of ye prinsaple Citties in Gilderland: and a great sound is gone through ye Country: but our moueings was especially to Zutphen; A Citty out of wch William Ames had bine Banished; not

w^th

wth standing for ye defence of ye truth wee were willing to hazard our lives in ye behalfe of it wch was much scandellised and reproched by ye people called Baptists especially who are in these countreyes generally great opposites: so into ye Citty we passed to their meettings: and when wee should have gone in: they boulted the doores of us: and would not admitt us: and William being well knowne (haueing bine three dayes to geather before ye magistrats when hee was Bannished) the rude multitude presently gathered about us: and to auoyd ye accasion of a tumulte: wee wth drew out of ye streats to ye walles of ye Citty unto wch many people followed us: And Docters wth other great men came to us some to trap and insnare us in our words and others to see some strang thing: but in ye wisdom of God we were preserued: and their expectation was frustrated: for as we were allowed of God soe we spake: not wth enticeing words of mans wisedome (and therefore could not they insnare and trap us: in their wisedom) for by ye liueing power of God in wch we spoke: the wicked spirits in ye Auditors were Chayned downe to admiration that so they could not accomplish their mischiefous designs: and after we were Cleare: we passed to our lodgeing (wch was out of ye Citty) haueing many stones throwne at us: but little or no harme we received; praised bee the Lord. And in ye after noone there came not a few to us: that soe our seruice was very great that day: for seuerall hundreds heard us with diligence and many bookes we dispersed amongst them in their owne language and seuerall there was that receiued good satisfaction: and ye liueing truth of our God was freely held forth to them: and by that dayes seruice much cleared and aduansed: Now a great sound rings through ye country: And many books haue we gotten lately translated and printed: the perusing of wch doth a little Quallifie ye spirits of some: who begines to intrude by way of query: A little ffarther into things than heretofore they haue done: And about ye place aforesaid Williams Ames haue thoughts of staying: But ye magistrates sent an officer to Charge ye people to keep us noe longer: for they seemed to be no little offended: that William should presume to come againe into their liberty: after hee had bine by them bannished: moreouer they threatned: that any baptists came at us: they should be serued in like manner: wch thretnings with that wch they haue done already: doth kepe ye people in much slauery and fearfulness: that they dare not appear scarce so much as to Vindicate that wch they are Convinced off: the Magistrates opposission and Cruell threatnings seems to be a great hindrance to ye truth at present: for in this country here is scarce a Towne: but it hath Lowes and statuts in its selfe: and so by its powr may proceed against

against those who are judged to be offendors: if it bee to put them to death: and so each towne seekes to defend it selfe by banishing out of its libertyes those that are against its costomes: and thus for ye present many wth ye powers of ye earth: stands up against ye truth: being thus farr conuinced that wee come to take peace from ye earth: And to distroy their costomes: yea in a word their Diana: And therefore with one consent doth ye craftes men combine to gether to hale us before their Judgment seates: yea and all formes as one: seekes our excilement out of their costes . . . . ffarewell:—

"Your deare Brother and member
of ye same Body with you:—

William Caton."

ART. VII.—*Notes on Local Heraldry.* By J. F. HASWELL, M.D.

Read at Furness Abbey Hotel, Sept. 23rd, 1895.

PART I.—HORNBY HALL.

THE Heraldry at Hornby Hall has, I fancy, never been investigated by this Society, and, although Dr. Taylor describes the heraldic glass and the carved oak shield in the drawing room, still the armorial bearings above the outer door of the porch are only very vaguely given in his book.

The Birkbecks obtained possession of this intereresting hall in the sixth year of Edward VIth reign by exchange with Henry Earl of Cumberland, the latter reserving a rent of £6, and their arms appear on the glass in the hall. The well-known fess and chequy coat of the Cliffords needs no description. The Birkbeck arms are given by Dugdale as "argent, a fess chequy or and sable, between three lions' heads erased gules." Dr. Taylor gives the charge as bears' heads, and they certainly look like this, but the fess is compony not chequy. Above the fireplace in tke drawing-room, as a centre piece to the beautiful oak carving, the same arms are repeated with helmet and mantlings—unfortunately the crest is gone, but it is said to have been a nutbranch vert, fructed or, and a leaf remaining hanging over the helmet seems to show that this was the crest used here. The shield was evidently made with the intention of impaling another coat as the sinister side is blank: which leads me to conjecture that the Birkbeck of that day intended to marry, but that his good resolve never came to anything. The family seems to have fallen on evil times, perhaps owing to the troubles of the wars of Cromwell: at any rate

rate they sold the estate to Thos. Dalston of Gray's Inn, second son of John Dalston of Acornbank. I cannot find the date of the sale, but it must have been some few years before 1712, when a bill was filed in chancery by Thomas, Earl of Thanet, against Mr. Dalston the owner of Hornby estate for the non-payment of the rent of £6. This Thomas Dalston must have inserted his armorial bearings above the door of the porch, the rest of the building being of a much earlier date; unfortunately the stone is of a soft and crumbling nature and has greatly weathered making many of the shields undecipherable. There originally was a central shield with the usual helmet, crest and mantlings, below a motto on a scroll and three smaller shields on each side, but the hand of time, helped I think by the hand of man, has obliterated the scroll, three of the smaller shields, and part of the central one; of the crest only the ducal crown remains.

The large shield is quarterly—

1. Dalston of Acornbank, arg. a chevron engrailed between three daws' heads erased sable.
2. I fancy is Sandford, per chevron sa. and ermine, in chief two boars' heads couped or.

but I cannot trace any alliance in the pedigree.

3 and 4 are hopelessly erased, but they would probably be Fallowfield and Kirkbride or Carlisle.

Of the six smaller shields three are gone, the remaining ones are :—Dalston impaling Lowther; Dalston impaling, I think, Highmoor of Armathwaite, whose arms are arg. a cross-bow in pale reversed between three moor cocks sable, and Dalston impaling a coat which is probably Birkbeck. No doubt Thomas Dalston intended to make Hornby the home for his family as it would be near to his brothers at Acornbank and Great Salkeld, but the fates were unkind and by the death of his wife at the early age of 26 years, and his three children in infancy, he was left alone: on the monument in Penrith Parish Church he breathes

breathes his devotion and bewails his loss in eloquent language. He left the estate to his brothers Charles and William in succession and then to their children, but it seems to have soon after gone to the Acornbank stock, and finally was sold to the Lowthers.

PART II.—ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, PENRITH.

I do not know that the interesting heraldry in the Parish Church of St. Andrews, at Penrith, has ever been described in detail, certainly the local histories do not give anything more than a meagre account stating the inscriptions and casually mentioning that there are some heraldic devices. In the vestry, removed, as Nicolson and Burn say, from "the wall of the old church, on the right hand coming in at the south door," are four freestone tablets, 33 inches square, all much of the same date,—two relating to the Moresby family, one to the Pickerings, and one to Richard Coldall. The first, to the memory of Christopher Moresby, Kt., with date 1499, shows the Moresby coat alone, (sable) a cross couped (argent) in the first quarter a cinquefoil (of the last). The second, to his son Christopher and his wife Elizabeth, carries a quarterly shield. In the first quarter, which is subdivided into two, are the Moresby arms as above, and three water-bougets 2 and 1. This latter, I conjecture, may be Roos of Kendal, although there is no evidence of an alliance, except the fact that Hugh de Moresby, 49 Ed. iii, held the manor of Hutton Roof which was part of the Barony of Kendal (Denton). In that case the arms would be gules three water-bougets sable. The second quarter is a lion rampant, the alliance I cannot make out; it may be Asby as some of the Ashby families wear a lion rampant, and Moresby should quarter the Asby arms. The caud is inflexed, but the same remark applies to all the lions on these shields. The third quarter is (gules) a lion rampant (argent) depressed by a bendlet (azure) for Tilliol,

Tilliol, showing the great match between Christopher (or James) Moresby and the co-heiress of the Tilliols in the fifteenth century. The fourth quarter, per fess (gules and argent) six martlets (counter changed) three and three, with a label of three points, is Fenwick for Christopher Moresby's own wife Elizabeth Fenwick, daughter and heiress of Sir Henry Fenwick, of Fenwick.

The third tablet is to the memory of Sir Christopher Pickering who, as the inscription says, died 1516, not 1512, as Nicolson and Burn state. It has a quarterly shield with secondary quarterings :—

1 and 4 grand quarters : (ermine) a lion rampant (azure) crowned (or), for Pickering.

2nd grand quarter contains the Moresby quarterings :—

1. Moresby.
2. Fenwick. The label has disappeared.
3. Quarterly.
   1 and 4. Tilliol.
   2 and 3. . . . a cross moline . . . an alliance of the Tilliols (?)
4. A lion rampant for Asby (?)

3rd grand quarter : (argent) three chaplets (gules), for Lassels of Ascrigg whose heiress Margaret was married to James Pickering, father of Christopher.

Curiously there is no division line between the first and third quarters. The reason why these Moresbys should have been buried at Penrith is quite unknown to me, as no trace of their connection with the parish can be found.

The same series of quarterings are found on a shield over the door at Crosby Ravensworth Hall and given in a note by Mr. William Jackson in Dr. Taylor's book on the Manorial Halls of these two counties. The three chaplets however he gives doubtfully as Greystoke (Grymethorpe), whereas they must be Lassels. The cross moline is given as Vesci, but Vesci carried a plain cross according to Nicholas Roll, and I think from the position

position of the quartering on the Pickering monument it must be an alliance of the Tilliols.

IV. The tablet to the memory of Richard Coldall is roughly executed: it has two shields; the left one is blank; the right shows a chevron between three cows' heads affronteé (only the outline of these has been carved) impaling a curious charge whose like I have not previously come across, but which Chancellor Ferguson says is an orle reversed. I imagine both these devices should be put in the category of the "Heraldry of the Cumberland Stateman," concerning which an interesting paper was recently given in these Transactions by our President. *

V. There is also a beautiful marble monument to Jane (a Wharton) wife of Thomas Dalston, dated 1678. It is blazoned with the arms of the Acornbank family, argent, a chevron engrailed between three daws' heads erased sable, a cinquefoil for difference—impaling sable a maunch argent, for Wharton.

VI. A brass to the memory of Dorothy Sisson of Penrith, and wife to Henry Blencow, has the date 1707. It shows the two armorial bearings of Blencow, (gules) a quarter (argent), and (azure) on a bend (argent) three chaplets (gules) impaling three lions rampant, two and one, for Sisson presumably. I have not been able to find mention of the Sisson coat in any of the heraldic books. In this connection I may mention that the old Blencow coat on this monument and the shield at Blencow Hall is certainly a quarter and not a canton.

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* NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—The first of these coats is tricked among the Arms of Cumberland Gentry in Harleian MS., No. 1536, as "Cowdnell." See *The Visitation of Cumberland*, 1615," published by Harleian Society.

ART. VIII.—*On the proposed Ethnographical Survey.* BY HENRY BARNES, M.D., F.R.S.E.

Read at Carlisle, August 8th, 1895.

AT the last meeting of the Council of this Society the proposed Ethnographical Survey was under consideration, and being heartily approved, a representative committee was appointed to carry out the work. As a preliminary step it was thought desirable that the subject should be brought before the first general meeting of the members so that they might be fully informed of the objects of the proposed enquiry and of the manner in which it is intended to carry it out. In some parts of the United Kingdom much progress has already been made, but in Cumberland and Westmorland hardly anything has as yet been done.

The credit of the proposal belongs to the British Association for the Advancement of Science. At the Edinburgh meeting of this Society, held in August, 1892, a paper was read by Mr. Brabrook, F.S.A., on the "Organisation of Local Anthropological Research," and as a result of that meeting a committee was formed which is now organising the work in various parts of the country. The committee consists of members of the Association, and of others who are not members but who act with the committee and have been appointed to do so, as delegates of such societies as the Folk Lore Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the Anthropological Institute, the Royal Irish Academy, the Royal Statistical Society, the Cambrian Archæological Association, &c.

The committee propose to record for certain typical villages, parishes, or places, and their vicinity :—

1. Physical types of the inhabitants.

2. Current

2. Current traditions and beliefs.
3. Peculiarities of dialect.
4. Monuments and other remains of ancient culture.
5. Historical evidence as to continuity of race.

It is obvious that the first step in such an investigation is to form a list of such places as appear especially to deserve ethnographic study: the places which appear to the committee as most suitable for entry on the list are such as contain not less than 100 adults the large majority of whose forefathers have lived there so far back as can be traced and of whom the necessary physical measurements can be obtained. The learned president of this Society, Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., has taken great interest in this preliminary part of the work, and with his help and that of some other members, a list of places in Cumberland and Westmorland has been scheduled by the central committee. This list is not by any means complete, but the mere mention of the names of places in Cumberland and Westmorland which have been suggested by Chancellor Ferguson, Canon Matthews, Mr. William Wilson, Mr. Jared Turnbull, the Rev. J. Wharton, and myself, will show that no light task is before the committee and several months must elapse before it is completed. In Cumberland the list includes Keswick, Penrith, Cockermouth, Hesket New Market, Aspatria, Dalston, Great Orton, Allonby, Bromfield, Wasdale, Gosforth, Eskdale, Brampton, Lanercost, Ivegill, Caldbeck, and Maughanby. In Westmorland the places already scheduled are Appleby, Ravenstonedale, Asby, Orton, Swaledale, Troutbeck, Kentmere, Ambleside, and Lakeland generally. In a report presented to section H. of the British Association in 1893 some observations occur relating to some of the above named places, and a more complete and comprehensive study of them will be of great value.

The Society of Antiquaries has commenced, and in several

several counties has completed, an Archæological Survey in which the monuments of antiquity are recorded on a uniform system; the Folk Lore Society has commenced, in several counties, the systematic collection of records of customs, traditions, and beliefs; and the late Anthropometric Committee of the British Association made numerous observations on the physical characters of the inhabitants in some parts of the United Kingdom, but all this work must remain incomplete and its teaching unavailable as long as the results of it are not brought together. If these several branches of research are pursued simultaneously under similar conditions, and the results brought into apposition, we may find some instructive correlations, or if we do not find them, it will be instructive to find that they do not exist. The purpose of the enquiry is wholly one of research. It is not the establishment of any preconceived views or the support of any existing theories, but a thorough investigation into the natural history of man as differentiated by such racial characters of all kinds as survive in various parts of the country. It is evident that in an undertaking of this kind much of the evidence upon which we can rely is rapidly slipping from our grasp. The various forces which impel the country folk towards our great towns and the rapid means of transit from place to place, of which even the poorest are able to avail themselves, are rapidly effacing local peculiarities, and the races of which our population are composed are yearly getting more mixed. The work therefore should be pushed forward. In a few years more it will be impossible. The opportunity will have passed. Notwithstanding the rapid changes which have taken place in all parts of the country during the last fifty years, a brief consideration of the places in Cumberland and Westmorland which have been selected by the central committee for investigation shows that much valuable material yet remains, and in order that there may be no

no overlapping of work it is desirable that those members who desire to assist in the survey should place themselves in communication with the sub-committee. Forms of schedules relating to each head of the enquiry have been prepared and may be obtained on application to the Secretary, Ethnographical Survey Committee, Burlington House, London, W. It is desirable that the schedule relating to the physical types of the inhabitants should be supplemented by photographic portraits of the person measured, as facial characteristics are so readily and conveniently recorded in this way. There are now so many amateurs in the art of photography that it is hoped the desired materials may be abundantly supplied. At least twelve more or less beardless male adults and twelve female adults should be photographed in each district. It is recommended that the adults examined should be between the ages of 20 and 50, or still better between 25 and 45 years. They should not be picked out for their size or beauty, but taken indiscriminately with a view of getting a truly representative series of observation. In several counties the project of a photographic survey has been taken up by a combination of the local archæological and photographic societies. The idea was started in Birmingham. In Gloucestershire they are now arranging to have not merely the archæological, architectural, and natural peculiarities and beauties of the county photographed, but also typical natives in the manner required by the Ethnographic Survey.

Full directions are given in the schedules as to each section of the work and the various points which require attention and elucidation. When completed the different sections of each schedule will be collated by a special expert, and among the names of those who have agreed to do this part of the work appear those of Mr. Francis Galton, F.R.S., Professor Rhys, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and Professor of Celtic in that University,

Mr.

Mr. Brabrook, F.R.S., Mr. George Payne, F.S.A., and Professor Skeat. There can be no doubt that in the hands of such competent authorities, such local researches as may be undertaken will be fully digested. Let us hope that the work in Cumberland and Westmorland, for which this Society has made itself responsible, will reach a high standard of excellence and bear favourable comparison with that done in other parts of the United Kingdom.

ART. IX.—*The Roman Frontier System.* By H. F. PELHAM, M.A., F.S.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford.

Read at Lanercost, August 8th, 1895.

THE stone wall and earthworks which mark the northern frontier of the Roman province of Britain, form part of the great imperial frontier system by which the barbarians were separated and divided off from Rome and Roman territory. The imperial frontier lines with their chain of military posts can be traced along the course of the great rivers,—Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates, along the edge of the African and Syrian deserts, and, in a form most nearly approaching that of the British frontier, along the course of the German Pfahlgraben.

It is with the history and the leading features of this frontier system that I propose to deal; and first of all with its history. The system was in the main the work of one period. The Roman Republic can scarcely be said to have had any frontiers. It had certainly no system of frontier delimitation or defence. The Romans of the first century B.C., the sons and grandsons of the men who had conquered the civilised world, disdained to set any bounds to Roman dominion. The first suggestion that the Rhine should be the boundary of the empire of the Roman people came not from a Roman general or statesman, but from a German chief, Ariovistus, king of the Suevi.* So too it was a Parthian king, Phraates, who first proposed that the Euphrates should be the dividing line between the Republic of Rome and the kingdoms of the East.†

* Cæsar, Bell. Gall., iv., 16.
† Plutarch. Pompey, 33.

But

But the reply of Rome was in each case a refusal to accept any limit to her career of conquest. Nor if the Republican government had wished to trace and guard the frontier lines of the empire would it have been easy for it to do so. The empire as yet was not so much a single state as a federation of states under the leadership of Rome, and as a rule its only frontiers were those of the allied states,—frontiers neither drawn by Rome nor defended by her. Even where the limits of a Roman province, that is of Roman territory, touched the confines of barbarism, these limits were very often left vague and ill-defined. There was a Roman "sphere of influence" to use a modern phrase, but this sphere Rome was in no hurry to limit, by too precise a definition.* We are told indeed that Scipio marked the bounds of the old province of Africa by a ditch,† traces of which existed in the time of Vespasian,‡ but this ditch, merely separated the Roman province from the allied state of Numidia, and was itself probably of Carthaginian origin.§ It must lastly be remembered that the Republican government had neither a permanent army, nor permanent camps, and that with its numerous and changing proconsuls, each independent of his colleagues and to a great extent of the authorities at home, no uniform or continuous frontier policy was possible.

The foundations of a frontier system were laid by Augustus. It was he who organised the Roman army as a standing force, who stationed the greater part of it in the frontier districts, and who first established permanent camps; and though in the earlier years of his reign the

* Such was the case with the northern frontier of the province of Macedonia, Cicero in Pison. 16, and with the western frontier of Hither Spain.

† Pliny, N. Hist 5. 25.

‡ A recently discovered inscription (L'Année Epigraphique (1895) No. 65), of Vespasian's reign refers to this ditch.

§ Müller. Fragm. Hist. Graec, 3, 622.

old

old ideas of universal empire found expression in literature,* and were possibly shared by himself, he left as a legacy to his successors the advice "to keep the bounds of the empire within fixed limits."†

But it was only the foundations that were laid by Augustus. At the close of his reign, in many parts of the empire, the districts organised as Roman provinces, and garrisoned by Roman troops, were separated from the "nations outside," "the peoples," to quote Seneca, "among whom our peace ceases," by a broad belt of native allied states,‡ and even where, as on the lower Rhine, a real Roman frontier line had been drawn; its intention was rather to set bounds to the Roman advance than to arrest invading barbarism.§

Augustus' immediate successors did little or nothing for the actual construction of the frontier system, but they undoubtedly paved the way for such an achievement by the gradual annexation of the frontier native states of Cappadocia, Pontus, Thrace, and Mauretania. Roman territory was thus carried up to the political limits of Roman authority.

The real authors of the frontier system were the Flavian and Antonine Emperors, and the period extending from the accession of Vespasian to the death of Marcus Aurelius, or roughly from 70 A.D. to 180 A.D., witnessed its complete organisation. The interest of these emperors in the matter was no doubt quickened by the growing anxiety, an anxiety unknown to the Augustan age, but perceptible in Tacitus, as to the increasing pressure from without

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* Horace, Od. 3, 3, 45.
† Tac. Ann. 1. 11.
‡ *e.g.*, in the east, where the native states of Pontus, Cappadocia, and Commagene lay between the most eastern Roman provinces and the Euphrates.
§ Tacitus. Hist. 4. 21, 23 explains the weakness of the camp at Vetera, by pointing out that Augustus never contemplated the possibility of its being attacked by the Germans.

upon

upon the empire.* At the same time it was only natural that emperors, the keynote of whose policy was the consolidation of the empire, and who gave it a single administrative system, a uniform franchise, and a uniform municipal law, should have given it also well-defined frontiers, and a comprehensive system of defence. It would be out of place here to describe in detail the accomplishment of the task, or to assign to each emperor his proper share of the work, but it is well for students of the British frontier to remember that the emperor with whose name the organisation of the imperial frontier system is most closely connected is Hadrian.

The real motive for his restless travelling, was not the curiosity of a connoisseur, but the resolution of a great ruler to set in order the defences of the empire. Each frontier was visited in turn, the military posts inspected, and the troops reviewed. Of one such visit, a memorial remains in the extant fragments of his speech to the army in Africa, which were found on the site of the central camp constructed by his orders for the famous Third Legion at Lambaesis.† We can read the words of commendation which he bestows on the legion for the skill shown in the construction of the camp, and for the high state of efficiency which had been maintained in spite of the fact that it had been rarely possible to drill the men together owing to the number always absent on detachment duty in the frontier posts. The auxiliary cohorts and squadrons are similarly praised for the manner in which they had performed their exercises, and exhorted to constant practice in the use of their arms. From quite another quarter of the empire comes a valuable supplement to these words of Hadrian himself.

* The difference of tone as between Horace and Tacitus is very marked and has often been noticed.

† Corp. Inscr. Lat. VIII. 2532.

Fortunately

Fortunately we still possess the report made to Hadrian by his legate Arrian, lieutenant governor of the north eastern frontier province of Cappadocia, on the stations and garrisons along the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea.* Arrian describes how he inspected the camps; he reports the replacement of earthern banks and wooden towers by solid masonry, and everywhere he put the garrisons through a variety of movements and exercises. If to these two direct testimonies we add the many other proofs which exist of Hadrian's activity on the frontiers, we shall be justified in regarding him as the man to whom the imperial frontier system mainly owed its marvellous completeness and uniformity.

We may then take this frontier system as the work of a single century, inspired by one policy and executed on a single plan; let us examine it more in detail.

The terms used to denote the frontiers were "limes" or its plural "limites," and it is worthy of notice that the use of these terms to designate the imperial frontiers, begins as we should expect, towards the close of the first century A.D. with Frontinus and with Tacitus. To the latter we owe in particular the phrase "limes imperii."†

This use of the term "limes" in the sense of a frontier or march flowed naturally from the original meaning of the word. "Limites" were properly the raised balks dividing the separate allotments in an area measured out and assigned according to strict Roman rules. Along the top of these balks ran paths or narrow roads. The "limes" was thus at once a boundary and a road, and in the literature of the Ciceronian and Augustan ages, it is popularly used in both senses.‡ But its meaning as a

* Arrian, Periplus Pont. Euxini.

† Frontinus. Strateg. 1, 3, 10, limitibus per cxx, M.P. actis. comp. 2, 11, 7. Tac. Germ. 29. limite acto, promotis præsidiis. Ib. Agric. 41 de limite imperii et ripa.

‡ Virg. Aen, 9, 323, lato te limite ducam. Horace Od. 2, 18, 25, ultra limites clientium salis avarus.

boundary

boundary gradually predominated, and it was in this sense that the term was applied to the imperial frontiers. Professor Mommsen has, however, ingeniously endeavoured to show * that these imperial "limites" remained true in their form to the original idea, and that each consisted of a strip of land with clearly marked bounds on both sides and with a road running along it. It is enough to say here that his application of this theory to the extant frontier lines in Britain and Germany does not appear to be successful. I cannot believe that our own stone wall and vallum represent the outer and inner edges of the British limes, and as to the road, the only certain Roman road running parallel with the frontier line is south of the vallum.† In the case of the Grahame's Dyke, and the Pfahlgraben, he has to confess that while an outer boundary can be found, no inner line of demarcation has yet been discovered. At the same time there is no doubt that "limes" like "march" was frequently used to include not only the frontier line with its defences, but the territory stretching along both sides of it.

The first step in the construction of a frontier must have been delimitation; where the line should be drawn and what course it should follow, were matters which a variety of considerations might decide. In some cases a river supplied an obvious and natural boundary; where no river existed, and an artificial line had to be traced, the surveyors were probably guided by existing territorial divisions or by the limits of Roman settlements, as was possibly the case in upper Germany, or as in Africa, by the limits of cultivable or habitable land, or finally by simple convenience.

We must assume further that the course of the frontier

* West Deutsche Zeitschrift.
† The "Stanegate."

line

line was marked in some visible way. Mommsen rightly urges that an underground concealed ditch, such as that recently found in Germany, must have been supplemented by some indications of its course above ground. The difficulty would plainly arise only where, to quote Spartianus,* the barbarians were separated not by rivers but only by limites. How it was solved is uncertain, possibly in some cases by boundary stones at short intervals, but very possibly also by a continuous bank and fosse †; and such may have been the nature of the limites which Hadrian rendered more difficult of passage by palisades.‡ It is dangerous to dogmatise about the British vallum, but Mr. Haverfield's suggestion that it represents such a line of delimitation, as distinct from the military line of defence is at least plausible.

Delimitation must have been accompanied, or very shortly followed by defence, sufficient at any rate to ensure that the frontier was respected, to check raids or smuggling, and to regulate the ordinary traffic. Obviously the line of defence would not always coincide exactly with the line of delimitation. It might be in advance of it, or just to the rear of it, or might cross and recross it. Its strength too would vary with circumstances.

But in all cases known to us, the line of defence along a Roman frontier was formed by a chain of military posts. The distances between the posts varies greatly, as does their relation to the frontier line, but the chain of posts is universal. The posts themselves are very uniform in type. Except along the lower Rhine, the Danube, and the upper Euphrates, the camps of the legions do not

* Vit. Hadriani, 12.

† Hyginus (ed. Lachmann), p. 192, multi perpetuos limites egerunt, sicut in veterum coloniarum finibus invenimus, frequentius in provinciis. It appears from the African inscription referred to above that in Vespasian's delimitation of the province of Africa, boundary stones were only used "qua fossa afuit" where there was no ditch.

‡ Vit. Hadr. 12.

form

form part of the chain, but are planted at some considerable distance to the rear. This is so in Britain, in Africa, and in Upper Germany. York, Chester, Lambessa, Mainz, and Strassbourg serve as supports to the frontier posts and are connected with them by roads. The posts which actually constituted the links in the chain of defence were generally known as "præsidia." But they could also be classified according to their size as "castella," "burgi," and "turres." These three grades of posts we in England have rechristened "stations," "milecastles," and "turrets," a difference of terminology which rather obscures the uniformity of the system. Everywhere the "burgi" and "turres" seem to have served as stations for signalling and observation, and are placed at intervals between the larger camps,—the "castella."*

In two well-known cases at least, the line of defence formed by the fortified posts was further strengthened by a connecting wall or earthern rampart. But such a continuous barrier as our British wall, or the German Pfahlgraben, was not an invariable element in the frontier system. It was clearly superfluous where a great river afforded security, as on the lower Rhine, the Danube, or the Euphrates, nor is there any evidence of its existence along the African frontier.

In several cases the chain of posts is not single, but double or even treble. It is so in Upper Germany,† along some sections of the African frontier,‡ and it must have been so in Britain, during the brief period between the erection and the abandonment of the "Vallum Pii."

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* "Praetentura" and "clausura" are only found in late writers. Ammianus (14, 3), speaks of Mesopotamia as guarded "praetenturis et stationibus agrariis." Justinian (Cod. 1, 27), says of the African "limes" that its line was marked "clausuris et burgis." In the Housesteads inscription Corp. 7, 643, "praetentura" probably bears its earlier meaning of a part of a camp.

† The original line was marked by the Rhine, the second was that now known as the "Neckar Mümling Linie," the third that of the Pfahlgraben.

‡ Cagnat. L'Armée Romaine d'Afrique, gives a clear account of the three successive lines drawn along the south frontier.

In

In the three cases mentioned, in Upper Germany, Africa, and Britain, it seems almost certain that the doubling or trebling of the lines of defence was primarily due to the pushing forward of the frontier,* and to the fact that the earlier line or lines were still garrisoned, even after the construction of the new one. We are indebted to Frontinus† for a partial explanation, at any rate, of this policy. Among the devices of strategy, which he commends, is that by which a troublesome tribe was isolated and cut off, not only from the peaceful borders of a Roman province, but from the tribes in their rear, among whom they might have found shelter and assistance. In this way he says Domitian completely enclosed the marauding tribes of the Taunus, and cut them off from their powerful allies the Chatti. It was no doubt with the same object that in Africa, the mass of Mount Aures was girdled round with Roman garrisons, and the language of Pausanias,‡ as to the vallum of Pius suggests that the intention here also was to isolate the turbulent tribes lying between this barrier and the wall from their northern kinsmen or allies.

An important feature in the frontier system was the treatment of the land lying immediately beyond the line of defence. Such land was cleared of its native population and treated as part of the frontier, or march. Tacitus§ mentiones such a belt of land along the further banks of the lower Rhine, and adds that it was reserved for the soldiery. Marcus Aurelius, after the Marcomannic war, cleared a strip, varying from four to eight miles in breadth, beyond the Danube. No barbarians might settle there, except at the places and on the days set apart for

* Zangemeister. Neue Heidelberg. Jabrbuch, 1895, while assigning the camps on the Neckar line and on the Pfahlgraben to the same date (Hadrian—Ant. Pius), holds that the Neckar line represents an earlier frontier.

† Strategem, 1, 3, 10, and 2, 11, 7.

‡ Pausan, 8, 43, ἀπετέμετο... τῶν Βριγάντων τὴν πολλήν.

§ Tac. Annals, 13, 54.

occasional

occasional markets on the riverside.* The outlying posts not unfrequently found beyond the frontier may in some cases have been intended to keep order in this cleared border-land. But these posts also served the purpose of guarding and keeping open the "lines of attack," the roads that is along which an expeditionary force would advance when sent to chastise a marauding tribe, or quell a disturbance. Both these purposes may have been served by such posts as those at Birrens, Bewcastle, and High Rochester.

But the Roman frontier or march in its widest sense, included, besides the cleared land in front, a certain area of territory in the rear. The two together constituted what in the fourth and fifth centuries was known as the "terra limitanea" or "agri limitanei."† Of these border-lands the emperor was lord. Here were the imperial "saltus" administered by his "procuratores," and cultivated by his coloni.‡ Portions of it were from time to time granted to veterans, others were assigned to the frontier soldiery, or in some cases to native tribesmen or to settlers from within the empire. It is probable however that in the second and third centuries, as in the fourth and fifth, the obligation to assist in the defence of the frontier was a condition of the tenure of such land.§

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* Dio. 71, 14, 16. Very similar regulations exist on our own Indian frontier.

† Cod Theod 7, 15, Cod. Just, 11, 59.

‡ The frequency with which imperial "saltus" occur in the frontier districts of Africa is noted by Cagnat. L'Armée Romaine d'Afrique. They are found also in the territory between the Rhine and the Pfahlgraben. One existed near Sumelocenna (Rotenburg), and extended up to and beyond the limes. A Greek inscription mentions an imperial procurator Χωρας Συμελοκεννησιας και υπερλιμιτανης (West D. Zeitschrift 1886. The date is Domitian—Trojan). The case quoted Digest 21, 2, 11, of a purchase of land beyond the Rhine, which was not completed because the emperor granted away the land to veterans, implies the ownership of Cæsar. The vendor can only have been a tenant.

§ For the later practice see Cod. Theod, 7, 15, Cod. Just, 11, 59, agros limitaneos quos ex prisca dispositione limitanei milites curare atque arare consueverant. Severus Alexander granted lands on the frontier under condition of military service, Vit. Alex, 58. The African inscriptions supply instances of frontier posts garrisoned by veterans, or natives (gentiles), who had the use of a certain area of ground near the burgus or turris.

In

In extent these frontier districts may well have varied greatly. Where, as on the Lower Rhine, civilisation developed, and self-governing municipalities sprang up, the "march land" must have shrunk in proportion. It is possible, on the other hand, that nearly all the district between the Upper Rhine and the Pfahlgraben was treated as frontier territory. A recent German writer is inclined to say the same of the southern half of Numidia,* and such was not improbably the condition of Roman Britain north of the Humber.

As regards the troops to whom the defence of the frontier was entrusted, a very few remarks must suffice. The force included in the first place a legion or legions, and from quite an early period in the history of the frontier system, each legion had its own permanent camp.† But in Hadrian's time the camp was not much more than the headquarters and depot of the legion, and a great part of the legionaries were constantly away, serving in detachments (vexillationes) up and down the frontier territory, making roads, constructing new and repairing old buildings, or employed on some special duty.‡ The regular garrisons of the frontier posts were, however, furnished not by the legionaries but by the auxiliary cohorts and squadron, and by the smaller bodies of auxiliaries styled "numeri."

A marked feature in the frontier force is its immobility, a feature which is clearly discernible long before the legislation of Diocletian and Constantine stereotyped the military, as it stereotpyed all other arrangements of the empire. It is most conspicuous in the case of the legions: of the Twelfth Legion at Chester, of the Sixth at York,

* Schulten, Hermes 29, pp. 481, 399.
† From the reign of Domitian onwards.
‡ Hadrian in his address to the Third Legion, speaks of the "numerous and lely distant posts" held by detachments of the legion, "tot et tam distentae tiones," Corp. Inscr. Lab. 8, 2532.

of

of the Fifteenth at Satala on the Euphrates, and above all of the Third Augustan Legion in Africa. The auxiliary corps were more easily moveable, and were in fact more frequently moved, not only from one frontier post to another, but from province to province. Yet, to take the case of Britain, we find that of the twenty-three corps recorded in the Notitia as stationed "per lineam valli," sixteen are known to have been in Britain before 124 A.D.

On some frontiers, notably on the African frontier, the permanent character of the stations even of the auxiliary troops, encouraged the growth near them of civil settlements, many of which attained gradually to the dignity of municipalities. But in the frontier districts of Britain, though traces of civil settlements are discoverable, they are comparatively small and unimportant, nor, with the single exception of that at York, do any of them seem to have obtained a municipal charter.

How the frontier force in Britain was recruited is a question which the meagreness of the evidence makes it difficult to answer. We cannot say how far the legions in Britain were recruited, as was largely the case on other frontiers during the second and third centuries, from the districts in which they were stationed, or by drafts from the neighbouring provinces of Gaul.* It is equally doubtful how long the auxiliary cohorts and squadrons continued to be composed of natives of the districts or provinces whose names they bore, or whether these territorial designations came to mean as little as those of English regiments meant till a few years ago. So far as the evidence goes, however, it would seem that in Britain the drafts of men from Belgic Gaul, Germany,

* Among the half-dozen or so legionaries whose origins are given on inscriptions, four are from Gaul.

and

and the Danube were as a rule distributed among the existing corps, and not organised as separate bodies.*

The frontier system which has been described above was considerably modified after the storms of the third century by Diocletian and Constantine. It may be of interest to point out how far the changes introduced by them affected so remote a corner of the empire as Britain.

In the fourth and fifth centuries the empire had still well defined frontiers—the "limites" as they were now officially styled, though in Upper Germany the "limes Transrhenanus," and in Britain the "Vallum Pii" had been abandoned. These "limites" were, moreover, still guarded by chains of fortified posts, most of which dated back to the second century. But the force which held these posts differed in several important respects from the frontier force of earlier times. The military system of the fourth century was based on a clear distinction between the field army, the "milites palatini," or "comitatenses," who in theory guarded the emperor's palace, or followed him to war, and the frontier army, the "milites limitanei." The latter were inferior in rank, in the priviliges which they enjoyed, and even in physique; they were as indissolubly bound to their frontier stations and to the frontier lands, as the "colonus" to the soil, many of them indeed being little better than armed peasants. They had, lastly, their separate military organisation under the "dukes" and "counts" of the frontiers. †

If we turn to the account of the military arrangements in Britain given in the Notitia Dignitatum, it seems clear that this new system was not so throughly carried out

* According to Dio. 71, 14 Marcus Aurelius sent 5500 Iazyges to serve in Britain. These conscripts must have been distributed among the existing corps in the island. We may suspect that some corps retained their original territorial character longer than others.

† Mommsen. Hermes, 24, pp. 195, 399, gives a clear summary of the post-Diocletian military system.

there

there, as it was elsewhere. We get, indeed, the fundamental distinction between the field army, and the frontier army. But the field army in Britain was comparatively a small one. It consisted of one legion, one corps of auxiliary infantry, and six of cavalry, and was throughout formed on the new lines—both the legion, a fragment of the old Second Legion, and the auxiliary corps, being of the new pattern. *

Very different was the case with the frontier army. It contained in all forty-six corps as against the eight of the field army, nine being in the south under the command of the "Count of the Saxon shore," and the rest in the north under the "Duke of Britain." The southern portion of the force had, judging from the names borne by most of the troops composing it, been organised in post-Diocletian times. † The northern portion, on the other hand, was clearly of far older standing. The corps of which it was composed, the names they bear, even the posts at which many of them were stationed, seem to have been the same in the fifth century that they were in the second.‡ The command-in-chief has passed, indeed, to new hands. The "dux Britanniarum" has replaced the "legatus," but the sixth legion is still at York, having escaped the fate which befell the second. Of the thirty-six auxiliary corps, twenty-one are styled in the old fashion, "alae" and "cohortes," the majority of them having been in Britain since the second century, and eleven are "numeri," of the kind common in the third century.§ The natural

* Not. Dignit. Occ. vii and xxix. the field army was immediately under the command of the "Comes Britanniae." It had no fixed stations.

† Not. Dig. Occ. 28. the only corps of old standing are the Second Augustan Legion, part of which had been transferred to the field army and which was now stationed at Richborough, and "cohors I Baetasiorum" which was in Britain early in the second century.

‡ Not. Dign. Occ. 40.

§ "Numerus," in the second and third centuries, denoted a detachment of non-Roman auxiliary troops. In the fourth and fifth centuries it was used indifferently of any corps, Roman or non-Roman. Mommsen, Hermes, 19.

inference

inference is that in North Britain the military organisations of the second century still survived, though with modifications, in the fifth.*

The area over which this frontier force was distributed extended from the line of the Wall southward to Doncaster on the east, and at least as far as Lancaster on the west. The larger corps, the cohorts and squadrons were stationed partly along the line of the Wall, partly along the scarcely less important frontier of the western coast. The smaller detachments of "pioneers" (exploratores), "guides" (directores), &c., were as a rule in the interior and along the line of the roads. No stations are mentioned north of the Wall.†

We must suppose that the greater part, if not all, of this area, was treated as "frontier land" "terra limitanea" according to the strict regulations of the fourth century, or in other words that it was Cæsar's land, reserved for the use of the frontier force, whether regulars or native tribesmen, such as the "gentiles" on the African frontier.‡

It may be remarked in conclusion that the new system probably impaired rather than increased the efficiency of the frontier troops. Our own experience in India has shown the danger of leaving even picked troops for too long a period at remote frontier stations. It is probable that the "milites limitanei" of the fourth and fifth centuries, confessedly the inferior branch of the army, many of them scarcely regular soldiers at all, and all fixed immovably upon the frontier soil, gradually degenerated, and proved more and more unequal to their appointed task, the "care and defence of the limes."

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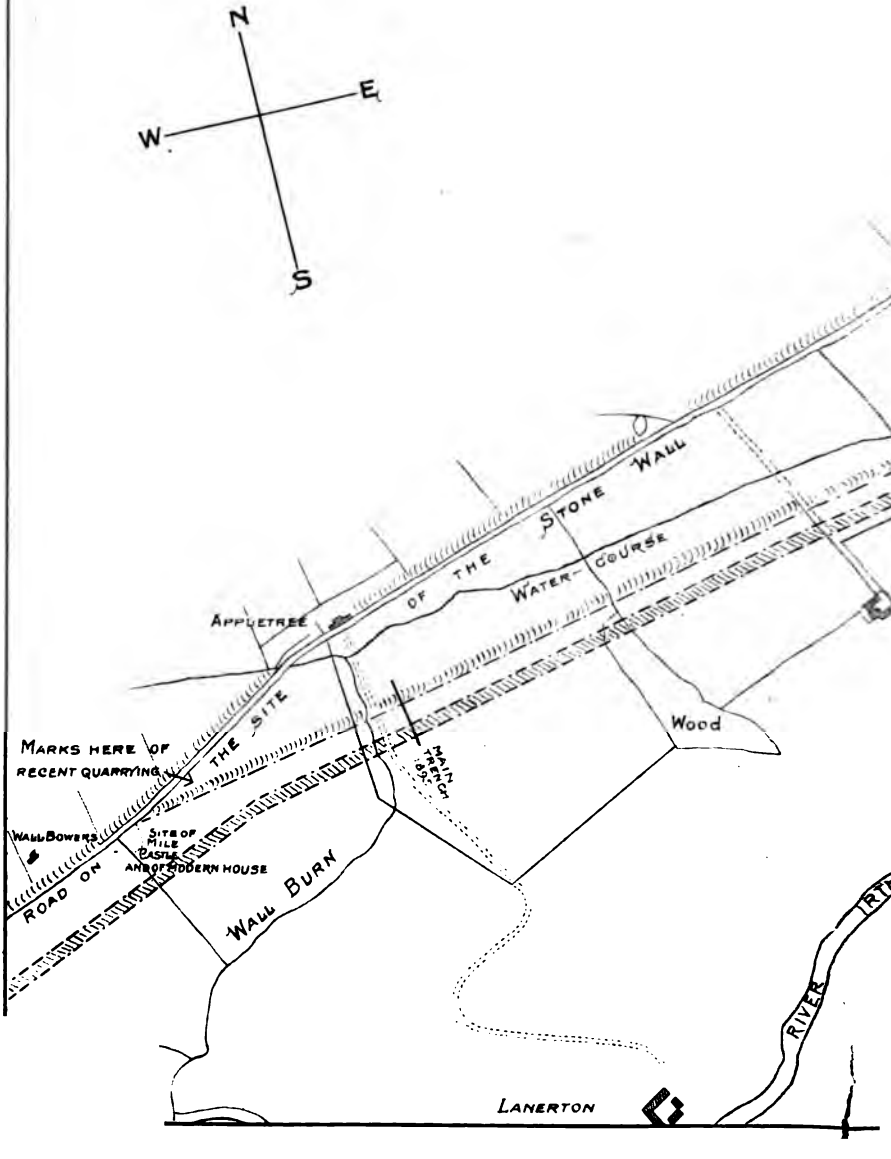
* This seems a more probable explanation of the difference between the British sections (esp. chap. 40) of the Notitia and the rest, than the supposition that these sections are older in date.

† Blatum Bulgium, and Bremenium appear in the Itinerary but not in the Notitia.

‡ The smaller detachments of "guides" and "pioneers" may well have been native levies.

Plan showing the course of the Stone Wall, the Turf Wall, and the Vallum between Wall Bowers and Birdoswald; from the Ordnance Map, corrected from Survey by T. H. H., December, 1895.

Scale 6 inches = 1 mile.



THE MAIDEN WAY
OLME MOSS
SITE OF THE WALL
SITE OF MILE CASTLE
R. IRTHING
BIRDOSWALD
AMBOGLANNA
ROMAN WALL VISIBLE HERE
CLIFF DUE TO LANDSLIPS
RIVER IRTHING
BLACK-BANK WOOD
E OF TRACED HERE
E CASTLE
RIVER IRTHING
RIVER
Fosse North of the Stone Wall.
Fosse North of the Turf Wall.
Ditch of the Vallum.
Line of the Turf Wall.
Line of the Mounds of the Vallum.

ART. X.—*Report of the Cumberland Excavation Committee*, 1895. By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.*

THE excavations which were carried out during last August, under the auspices of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, had two main objects, the investigation of the earthworks at Appletree, and the completion of the work begun twelve months before in Bleatarn Park, both of which had been originally included in the programme of 1894, but the first been postponed through want of time. It may be convenient to summarise here the chief results attained in these two excavations.

1. The most striking results were attained at Appletree, near Birdoswald. Here the Vallum is in admirable preservation and a unique feature presents itself; a large ditch runs for more than a mile between the Wall and the Vallum. The examination of this ditch resulted in an astonishing discovery: a new wall was found. The ditch, it appeared, was the ditch in front of a wall built with regularly laid sods and in this point closely resembling the turf wall of Antonine which joins the Clyde and the Forth. It started, it seems, near Birdoswald and ran between Wall and Vallum for about a mile and a half till it joined the line of the Wall about Wallbowers. This is the only occasion when any rampart has been detected *per lineam valli*, save the wall of stone and the ramparts of loose earth which we call the Vallum: to these familiar works we must now add, at

* For the Report for 1894, see these *Transactions*, vol. xiii, p. 453.

least

least for 2,000 yards, a third, a turf wall. Further investigation alone can show whether this new-found wall exists elsewhere than at Appletree, and whether it once extended, like the Wall and the Vallum, from sea to sea. But opinions will not differ as to the importance of the discovery, which has introduced a new factor into the whole mural problem.

2. The sections dug through the Vallum at Bleatarn disappointed our expectations. Clear traces of quarrying were found, but no definite date could be assigned nor any argument deduced as to the age of the Vallum. A section carried through the large mound near Bleatarn farmhouse, was more productive: the evidence collected makes it highly probable that this mound is of recent erection. If this be so, all speculations as to its use as a Roman signal station must be abandoned.

As before, the excavations were greatly aided by the kindness of landowners and farmers, who gave all necessary permissions with great readiness. The Society is especially indebted to the Earl of Carlisle, for leave to dig at Appletree and Lanercost and for help in procuring skilled labour, to Mr. S. G. Saul, for leave to dig at Bleatarn, and to the late Mr. Wannop of Bleatarn, Mr. Sproat of Lanerton, and Mr. Blain of High House, the farmers on whose land excavations were made. The committee which initiated the excavations, consisted, as before, of Chancellor Ferguson, Mr. Hesketh Hodgson, and the Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A. All the work done was closely supervised, and the sections were carefully drawn and surveyed by Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson, to whose untiring efforts the Society is again deeply indebted. A statement of expenditure will be found at the end of the report.

During the summer of 1896 it is proposed to follow carefully the lines of the Roman roads along and near the Wall, and to search for further traces of the Appletree turf wall,

I. APPLETREE.

I. APPLETREE.

Appletree is a deserted farmhouse on the line of the Wall, a mile and a quarter west of the Roman fortress of Amboglanna (Birdoswald). The spot has often attracted notice, for near it, on land belonging to Lanerton and High House farms, the vallum is in astonishing preservation, while a ditch as large as that in front of the Wall, is interposed between the two works. This ditch diverges from Wallbowers, a quarter of a mile west of Appletree, and thence runs eastward almost exactly parallel to the vallum. (See Plate I.) For a mile its course is plain, but near Birdoswald both ditch and vallum grow faint: finally the ditch fades out, while the vallum has been carried away in a landslip. Both, if prolonged, would run into the western face of the Roman fortress, while the Wall comes up flush with its northern face. Nothing like this ditch has been noticed elsewhere *per lineam valli*, and its appearance at Appletree has caused much speculation. Our excavations were devoted to the examination (i) of this ditch, (ii) of the vallum (iii) of the mural road and two neighbouring mile-castles. The work was supervised by Prof. Pelham, M.A., F.S.A., Mr. R. P. L. Booker, M.A., F.S.A., and the present writer; valuable aid was given also by Mr. C. J. Bates, to whom our principal discovery was mainly due. Professor T. McKenny Hughes, F.S.A. also examined the remains and helped in determining the features of the turfwall.

(i) The excavations were commenced with a trench from the north of the ditch to the south of the vallum, at a point about 450 yards from the Wallbowers end of the ditch and immediately east of the roadway to Lanerton farmhouse. Here our ditch is 385 feet from the Wall and 120 feet from the north edge of the vallum. It proved to be roughly V shaped but the sides were steeper at the bottom than at the top, and the bottom itself was nearly 20 inches wide. Originally the whole work was probably

probably 10 feet deep and 32 or 33 feet wide at the top. The earth from it had been thrown out northwards: it formed a layer nearly 45 feet broad, under which the black line of the original surface was distinctly though intermittently visible. In this feature our ditch agrees with the fosse of the Wall, that of the Antonine Vallum and indeed most ditches in defensive works. On the south side of the ditch a very remarkable discovery was made. For nearly 30 feet from its southern lip, the subsoil was found to be overlaid by a black line 1-2 inches thick, most of which (18-20 feet) was again overlaid by alternate black and white lines (see Plates II and III). Parallel trenches revealed similar features more clearly; at 200 yards east and at the same distance west we found seven or eight rows of black lines distinctly marked in grey loam or clay, the whole being 12 feet in length and perhaps 2½ feet in height, though a single black line (as in the first trench) extended further on each side. The lines appear to represent a turf wall, built of regularly laid sods. The lines themselves consist of carbonaceous matter, which can hardly be anything else than decayed vegetation. The interspaces of white clay consist of the natural soil decomposed and discoloured by the overlying vegetable matter.* The whole strongly resembles the remains which the Glasgow Archæological Society found in the interior of the Antonine Vallum and took to represent the decayed vegetation of sods laid regularly one on the other to make a turf wall.† Our wall was probably 12 or 15 feet thick at the base, though fallen sods have extended the black line beyond this width: its height can

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* Professor Green has supplied me with the following references respecting the bleaching of soils by decaying vegetable matter:—Sir A. Geikié, *Text Book of Geology*, 3rd ed., pp. 343, 472. T. A. Phillips, *Ore Deposits*, p. 14. Julien, *Proceed. Amer. Assocn.*, xxviii (1879) 340, 347, 348.

† The Glasgow Society's excavations were made in 1892-3, and visited by myself and other archæologists. A detailed report is in course of preparation.

hardly

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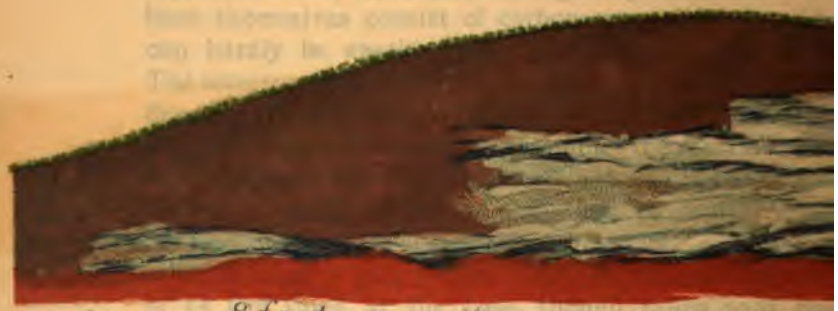
Sectio



8 feet

Sect

SKETCHES OF THE TURF WALL,
APPLETREE, GILSLAND.

PLATE III.

S

main trench.

tern Field.

E. H., August, 1895.

SKETCHES OF THE SURF BOAT,
APPLETREE, GUISLAND.
PLATE III.

hardly have exceeded 10-12 feet.* Like the Antonine Vallum it had a berm in front of it—probably 10 feet wide; unlike it, it had no stone foundation. The lowness of the remains and their disposal on each side of the wall suggest that it was purposely demolished. The sods (as Mr. Hodgson noticed) appeared to have been laid face downwards (as Roman writers prescribe), to have been cut with "featheredges" and to have been laid so as to break the joints, in each case, of the layer below. The wall was traced for about a mile. Near Wallbowers and its junction with the stone Wall, it had been destroyed by recent quarrying; near Birdoswald it was not distinguishable, but it probably once stretched the whole distance of a mile and a half. Its general course is parallel to the vallum rather than to the Wall.

(ii) South of the turf wall we found no trace of disturbed soil till our trench reached the vallum, of which we obtained a good normal section. The two principal mounds contain upcast from the central ditch, resting on a distinct though broken black line of original surface. The old surface line beneath the "marginal mound" south of the ditch is also plain but the mound itself was found to be much worn down. The only feature requiring explanation is the occurrence of large stones on the south side of the north mound: these may have rolled off the mound or may be the debris of a field-wall which seems once to have stood here.

(iii) The road was sought along the whole area under examination but was found only about half-a-mile from Birdoswald, close to a milecastle. Here it was traced across a field belonging to High House farm. It ran between the Wall and the ditch, about 100 feet from the

* The extreme slope at which a turf wall or revetment will stand is, according to modern works on fortifications, $\frac{3}{1}$, or three feet vertical for one horizontal, but a less steep slope is generally employed. Our turf wall may very well have had less steep sides, say $\frac{2}{1}$ and a flat top perhaps four feet broad.

former

former, and was very much ruined. The best piece w 22 feet wide and built of cobbles and freestone fragmen based on the undisturbed clay subsoil: the kerbstones h been seemingly ploughed away. This road must som where cut the line of the ditch and turfwall: the poi at which the two works would naturally meet has be disturbed by modern quarrying.

Two milecastles lay within the area of examinatio both were trenched but were so ruined that elaborate sear seemed useless. One, half-a-mile from Birdoswald High House farm, yielded a fragment of "Samian ware, a small stone chisel? and some obviously Rom stones but no walls *in situ*. The other, near Wallbowe was even less productive. A modern house occupied t site, according to local tradition, about a hundred yea ago: we found stone *débris* of no special character a two or three bits of modern pottery.

It remains to consider the object and origin of t ditch and turf-wall. Some theories may be put aside once. Hodgson suggested a drain for a bog: Maclauc lan, an original line for the Wall: Bruce, an addition defence against the south, but the discovery of the tu wall makes all these notions impossible. The idea th the works formed an additional defence against t north is not impossible, but there is no obvious reas for such additional defence at this point. A very differe view is likely to attract more attention. Mr. Bat prophesied in print the finding of the turf-wall. In h "History of Northumberland," * published only a coup of weeks before we began our excavations at Appletre he suggests (p. 28), that the Wall of Hadrian may ha been built of sods and may have been replaced by t later stone wall, built on the exact site of the turf-wa

* Popular County Histories. The History of Northumberland. By Ca wallader J. Bates. London, Elliot Stock, 1895.

exce

except at Appletree. Here, he said, "there are indications of the stone wall having for once swerved from the line of an earlier one of turves or palisades." This theory undoubtedly satisfies several conditions of the mural problem and it has the support of a fulfilled prophecy but it raises some dificulties and it can scarcely be discussed till one essential fact has been determined. At present the Appletree turf-wall is an exception: if it once reached from sea to sea, other traces of it must survive besides the 2,000 yards of it which have been just discovered. It is improbable that Appletree should be the one place where a later-built stone wall swerved from the line of a turf wall. Further discussion is undesirable for another reason. Mr. Bates has, at present, only stated his theory: he promises his full reasons later. Meanwhile, it is worth while to urge on all who have to do with the archæology of the Wall, the importance of searching for further traces of the turf-wall. When we have discovered these, we shall be able to consider whether Mr. Bates is to add to his two successes in prophesying and finding, the third success in interpreting.

II. BLEATARN.

The excavations at Bleatarn consisted of (i) some trenches about 270 feet east of the Baron's Dyke, in connection with a deep cutting dug last year by the Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., (ii) a small trench across the line of the Wall near the east end of the Park, and (iii) a cutting made in Bleatarn mound. The excavations were supervised by Mr. Hodgson and the present writer.

(i) One of the sections cut at Bleatarn in 1894 (*Report*, pp. 463-4) had suggested the conjecture that a quarry, possibly of Roman date, either underlay or interfered with the north mound of the Vallum and the conjecture seemed to be worth testing. Accordingly a part of last year's trench was re-opened, and three parallel ones were dug

dug a few feet to the west (see Plate IV.) The subsoil at the spot, according to the report of Mr. J. G. Goodchild, F.G.S., who examined the largest trench, consists of three layers, glacial in origin—on the top, glacial loam and red sand, below that a compact rubble of angular sandstone fragments, and at the bottom large blocks of the same red sandstone bedded in sand. The solid sandstone rock is perhaps not far below and either it or the large blocks above it have been quarried extensively in the northern, *i.e.*, the lower half of the field, where surface depressions show disturbance both north and south of the line of the Wall. The Vallum seems to have run along the edge of the quarried area, but its details are no longer discoverable. Its ditch, filled with peat and grey sand, descends with much abruptness into the subsoil described above, but its mounds have been ploughed down beyond recognition. A band of dark red sandy loam, with bits of "black line," overlies the subsoil for 30 feet north of the ditch and may belong to the northern mound, 39 feet * north of the scarp of the ditch the subsoil has been broken into in search for for stone, and a nearly level surface of rock was uncovered by us on which both Mr. D. Burns, C.E., F.G.S., and an experienced local quarryman confidently recognised pick-marks (see Plate V). The relation of this quarry to the Vallum cannot be fixed. The lie of the strata exhibited in the section proves that the Vallum has not been carried across it but rests on the undisturbed subsoil. On the other hand it is possible that it has been carried into the Vallum. The contoured plan made by Mr. Hodgson (see Plate VI.) shews that our pick-marks and a corresponding surface depression impinge on the line which we should expect the Vallum to take. The ruined state of the Vallum forbids precise conclusions, but there is some slight reason to think that its northern

* 49 feet from the axis of the ditch.

earthworks

TRENCH AT BLEATARN (F on Map)

Showing red sandstone, rock and fragments.

Extended from a Photograph by Miss G. B. Hudson. Drawn by E. Hodgson, August, 1895.

PLATE V.

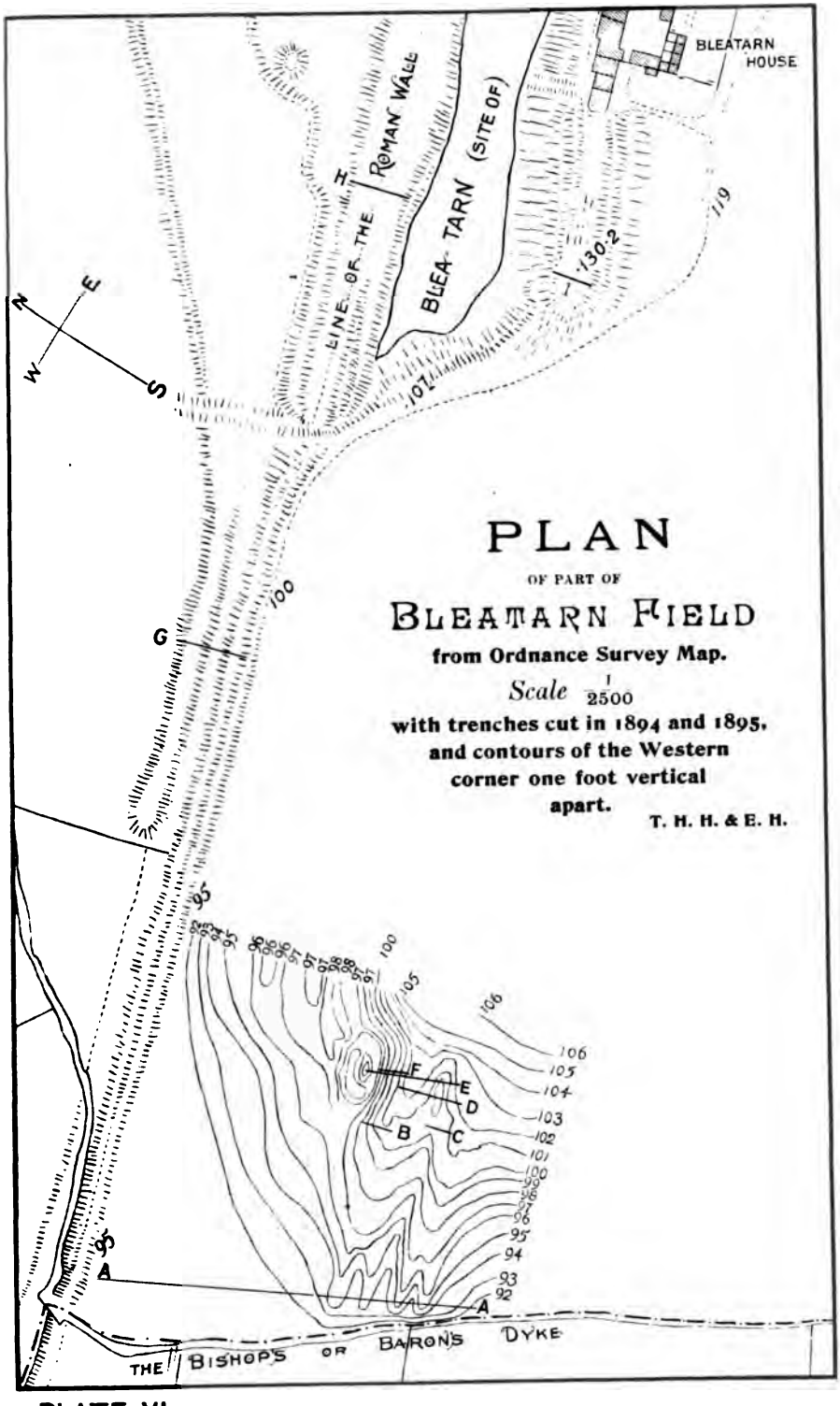

BLEATARN HOUSE
LINE OF THE ROMAN WALL
BLEA TARN (SITE OF)
H
I
130·2
119
107
100
G
95
N
E
W
S
PLAN
OF PART OF
BLEATARN FIELD
from Ordnance Survey Map.
Scale 1/2500
with trenches cut in 1894 and 1895,
and contours of the Western
corner one foot vertical
apart.
T. H. H. & E. H.
F
E
D
B
C
A
A
THE BISHOP'S OR BARON'S DYKE

PLATE VI.

B
PLA

B
PLA

Stanwix about 1775-1805,* and if he built the mound, it will belong to that period. It must be remembered, in estimating the depth at which the pipe-bowl and potsherds were found, that the height of the mound (according to local evidence) was reduced some 40 years ago for road making and that the soil of the mound appears to be uniform throughout. The relation of the mound and the tarn are not quite clear. It is possible that the earth came out of the tarn, which (in this case) will be no older than Mr. Richardson, but it is at least as likely that the tarn is older and that the vallum was levelled to supply earth for the mound. The name Bleatarn, "the blue tarn," like Bleatarn in Westmorland, Blea Fell, Bleamire, &c., is quite conceivably Norse, in which case the tarn must be some eight or nine hundred years old. Unfortunately, in spite of considerable search, we have not been able to trace the name in documents. In Richardson's will it is spelt Blettern, as it is still pronounced locally; in Donald and Hodgkinson's Map of Cumberland (1770-1774), in Warburton's "Vallum" (1753), and in Horsley's "Britannia Romana" (1732) it appears as Bleatern. It is remarkable that Hutton in his "History of the Roman Wall," 2nd edition, describing his tour in 1801, makes no allusion to any special mound or tarn (p. 217) unless he erroneously takes the tarn to be the ditch of the wall, which he says is "here in high condition." Warburton is also silent.

According to local tradition the tarn contained many

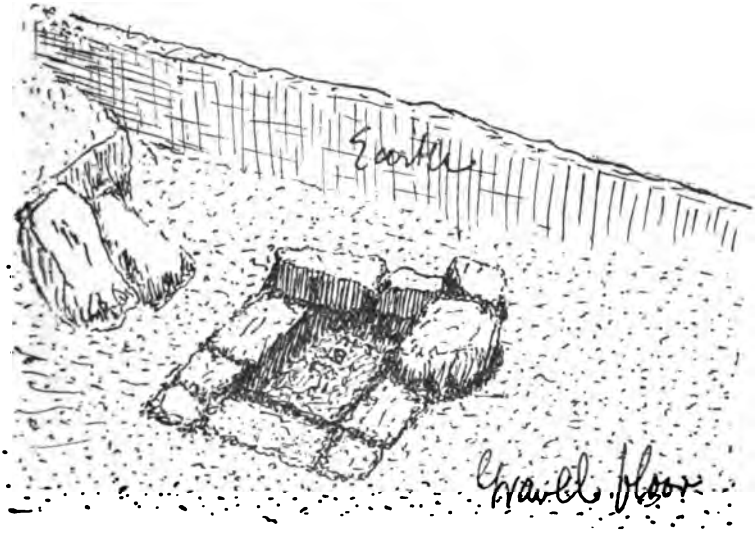
* The Manor of Rickerby was mainly sold by the lords to the tenants, but a remainder was purchased by Mr. Richardson, of Rickerby, prior to the issue of Nicolson and Burn's "History of Cumberland" in 1777 (vol. ii. p. 452.) Mr. Richardson was afterwards, in 1794, a subscriber to Hutchinson's "History of Cumberland," where there is this account of him: "At Rickerby, Mr. Richardson has purchased estates with a neat house, laid out beautiful gardens. . . . This gentleman was a native of this place and went early to London, where by trade he raised a large fortune. He now amuses himself in this retirement with buildings and agriculture, having improved the estates he has purchased, here and in the neighbouring parishes, to a high degree." His will was proved at Carlisle in 1807.

piles

piles of wood sixty years ago. It is difficult to understand the use of these piles. Hutton and Warburton have a statement to the same effect, that the wall was here carried over mossy ground by means of piles, which may refer to the Wall on White Moss, west of Bleatarn.

III. LANERCOST.

Excavations were made in the "green" of Lanercost Priory, by the Rev. W. S. Calverley. It was ascertained that a mound and ditch once ran along the north and west sides of this "green," just inside the modern wall, but the date and even the dimensions of this work were



CIST AT LANERCOST.

not determinable. Close to the western gateway some, probably mediæval, masonry was unearthed and near it and inside the above mentioned mound and ditch, a small stone cist containing fragments of an urn and bones. The urn appeared to be Romano-British and might belong

belong to a rude cremation burial of a known type. The bones are pronounced by the authorities of the Oxford Museum not to be human, so far as they are identifiable; three pieces certainly belong to a deer. But such bones not unfrequently occur, I believe, in similar interments: they have been explained as remains of the funeral feast. There is no reason to think that the Priory was ever the site of a Roman camp, but the spot may have been casually inhabited in Roman times. The Roman road sometimes called the Stanegate appears to have passed down the Irthing valley from Gilsland to Nether Denton and Lanercost on its way to Brampton, and chance remains might well be found at Lanercost, as they have been at Nether Denton, close to the rectory and church.

Incidentally search was made for two centurial stones which were built up in Lanerton farmhouse in Horseley's time (C. I. L. viii, 847, *a. b.*). Both have vanished—they were lost, probably, more than thirty years ago, when the present farmhouse was built.

IV. MAIDENWAY.

A section was cut through the Maidenway about three miles from Birdoswald and four from Bewcastle, on the moor close to Ash Crag and High Stead Ash, where the grass grown ridge of the road can be clearly traced for some little distance. By the advice of Lord Carlisle's drainers, whose local knowledge was invaluable, we made a trench 15 yards north of a gateway through which the line of the road passes, about 500 yards west of High Stead Ash farmhouse. We found the road in excellent preservation. It was about 16½-17 feet wide, edged with large squared kerbstones and constructed with large and small pieces of freestone and cobble, packed very tightly in a layer 8 inches thick and set on the natural clay subsoil. The centre of the road was raised but our section

section did not show the large central stones which were found in some sections of the mural road.

Incidentally the camp marked on the Ordnance Map a little north of Triermain was inspected and found to be nothing but the remains of surface quarrying.

EXPENDITURE 1895.

	£	s.	d.
Compensation at Lanercost 1894-5 ...	4	0	0
Labour at Lanercost	2	2	0
Bleatarn Compensation	5	0	0
„ Labour	13	13	0
Geologists, expenses of	1	10	2
Appletree Compensation	4	10	0
„ Labour...	6	16	0
	£37	11	2

This expenditure has been defrayed by subscriptions collected in Oxford, leaving intact for 1896 the second £50 voted by this Society. The total expended in two years has been £84 13s. 2d. of which this Society has furnished £50.

ART. XI.—*The Winders of Lorton.* By. F. A. WINDER, Southsea, Portsmouth.

Communicated at Carlisle, August 8th, 1895.*

DURING the last three years many important evidences have been found relating to the above family, and to the branches descended from them, and I am pleased to be permitted to contribute this paper, having in view the desire, of chronicling what has already been accomplished, and also, of indicating what yet remains to be done, to complete the gathering in of many scattered reminiscences—first then :—

AS TO THE WINDER FAMILY OF MARYLAND.

With the assistance of good friends in the United States of America, a large historical Pedigree has been compiled and printed, (now being further added to and corrected), which certainly is a very comprehensive record of the *descendants* of John Winder, Planter and Commissioned Officer in the Colonial Army, of...Princess Anne, Somerset Co., Maryland—whose Will was found at the District Probate Court, proved 23rd Sept. 1698. In November, 1672, this John Winder of Somerset Co., Gent, proved Rights to 200 acres of land for transporting into that province, Thomas Quarteman, *Thomas Relfe*, William Walter, and Ann Boyden.†

Here it would be in place to mention that a *Thomas Relfe* of *Cockermouth*, married in 171½, Barbara dau. of

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* For a previous paper on the Winders, see these *Transactions*, vol. xii, p. 439.

† Abstracted from the Records in the Land Office, Maryland, by Philip D. Laird, Esq., Commissioner, of Rockville, Maryland, and kindly sent me with many other evidences by R. Winder Johnson, Esq., of Philadelphia.

William

Pedigree of John Winder, M

WM. TULSE = R
of Avon (New Forest) | d
Hampshire, gent. | U
| K

= ...LEWIN ?= | WM. TULSE = SOPHRONIA
widow. | of Avon, gent, bur. | died at South
issue. | at Southampton. | Will proved
To be buried
ampton, "nea
husband"—m
dau: Sarah P

ELIZ. TULSE of Pann, Isle of Wight Will proved at Winchester 1680. Mentions Mrs. Sophronia Tulse her mother-in-law, her sister Sarah, brother Sir Hy. Tulse, and brother Robert Lewin.

SIR HENRY TULSE = ELIZ. TURGIS
Knight, Lord Mayor of London, 1684. Will proved 1689 in which he confirms settlements made his daughter on her marriage.
dau: of Thos. Turgis Esq:

WM. TULSE, Esq.

JOHN
Esq., M
Mayor
South
1669-7
at New
1675.

ELIZ: TULSE married to Sir Richd. Onslow, "elevated to the peerage by title of Baron Onslow of Onslow, co. Salop, and Clandon co. Surrey."

WILLIAM WINDER died about 1678.

JOHN WINDER
Mercht. of London, late of Cape Coast Castle, Guinea. Will proved 1686.
Appoints Sir Henry Tulse a his bro: Thomas Winder, Exors. Mentions his kins Wm. Lewin, his mother M Sarah Palmer, and his fath in-law Mr. John Palmer. Gab: Roberts, Deputy Gov nor of Royal African Co. w 23 July 1686—"Mr. John W der came ashore sick and mains at Deale"—probab where he died.

f Southampton, 1669-70.

Thomas
ey,

HENRY TULSE

ROGER TULSE
3rd son.

AH TULSE = CAPT. JOHN PALMER,
non Order
nted her
29, 1675
Estate of her
husband
cribed as
merchant
Alderman
New York."
married
13 April, 1677

VINDER
ry's,
apel,
marriner.
ed 1696,
on of
James
les Win-
ed 1712
el Browne
of Eliza-
me the
James

THOMAS WINDER died at Barbadoes, 1691, bur: at St. Michael's. Admon granted in Philadelphia to James Winder, 8 Novr. 1694.

SAMUEL WINDER Gent, Provincial Councellor of New Jersey, U.S.A. Married Margt. Rudyard, Oct. 25, 1684—Died Jan. 1688-9—left a daughter, Sarah, who it is believed died in her minority —In his Will he mentions his brother James Winder.

CHARLES WINDER Appointed by Govr. of New Jersey, Oct. 29, 1693, Administrator of his brother Thomas Winder's estate—at that time Charles was of the Island of Antigua—he died intestate "last of New York"—George Willocks (who afterwards married his widow) was appointed Administrator of his estate, 29 Dec: 1710.

William Williams of Johnby Hall, whose sister Lettice married John Winder, Esq., Barrister-at-law (eldest son of John Winder, gent of Lorton, who died 1696),—this is the only clue associating this Maryland branch with the Lorton family, which as I believe, has yet been found.

THE BRANCHES IN IRELAND.

A family settled at Cork, of which Arthur Wellesley Winder, LL.D., is a member, descends from *Winder* of Stonehead, Wyersdale, Lancashire,—out of Exchequer Depositions, date about 1660, I gathered that: "One Wynder of Stonyhead, Wyersdale was killed in Queen Elizabeth's time in the Border service against the Scotts."

John Winder of Dearham, Cumberland, in his Will proved at Carlisle, 1663, mentions the children of his son *Peter*, in *Ireland*.—John Winder of Lucie Close, parish of Deane, Cumberland, gent, in his Will (at London) proved 1623, mentions his godson, son of Henry Fearon of Galwaye. The families bearing our name and resident now about Dublin may possibly be descended from this Dearham family.

JOHN WINDER MAYOR OF SOUTHAMPTON 1669-70.

I believe him to be descended from the Cumberland Stock, and as the appended Pedigree is an important one I have worked it out, in part, to shew the *Winder*, *Tulse*, and *Onslow* connection.

WINDER AND MUSGRAVE.

Thomas Winder of *St. Christopher's*, *West Indies*, *Merchant*, made a Will which was proved (in P.C.C.) 15th June, 1704, by his "honoured mother" Elizabeth Winder. This member of the family I have not been able to identify yet with any pedigree, but it seems probable that he would be some relation to *Mrs. Anne Winder*, sister of Thomas

Thomas Musgrave, Gent, who died in Antigua about November, 1699, and in whose Will* is mentioned his loving sister Mrs. Anne Winder, his niece Mrs. Hartley, wife of Mr.—Hartley, Bookseller, of London, and Edward Musgrave, Esq., his "dear brother" of Westmorland.

Edward Musgrave† of Ashby, Westmorland, Esq., in his Will (proved in P.C.C., 17th June, 1700), mentions his only son Richard Musgrave and leaves him his demesne lands &c., in the said county with Tythe Barns at Allonby and West Newton in parish of Bromfield, Cumberland, and to his daughter Catherine an annuity, and also a gold ring with inscription "God's providence is our inheritance,"—he desires his honoured and most faithful friends Sir Christopher Musgrave, Bart., and Sir Richard Musgrave of Haton, Bart., to take upon them the trust of seeing that his son (whom he leaves his Exor) is carefully educated and religiously brought up.

From the Westmorland "Feet of Fines" I find that:—"*Christopher Musgrave*, Knight, in 1702, disposes of Lands and Tenements lying in Appleby to Hugh Hugill and Marg^t his wife for £60."

Richard Musgrave, in 1703, purchases Lands and Manor of Asby Cotsford from William Johnson, Gent, for £360.

The Stemmata.

The following short abstracts and copies of documents add some important links to the chain of history, of the

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* Proved 20th December, 1700 (in P.C.C.) by Robert Hartley, Curator, lawfully assigned to Richard Musgrave, Armiger, a minor, son and exor. of Edward Musgrave, Armiger, deceased.

† I have not yet traced from which branch of the Musgrave family he descends. Altho' it may be from *Cuthbert Musgrave*, who was granted by King Henry VIII, the office of Bailiwick of the town of Penrith by Letters Patent 7 March, 1536,—for we find Richard Dudley of Yenwyth, Westmorland, complaining (Exchequer Bill—Cumb: Eliz: No. 25) that Cuthbert Musgrave having by deed assigned him the said office in 1583-4—did, with his son Cuthbert Musgrave, John Atkinson of Penrith, and John Winder [of Penrith—Will proved 1593] enter into the said bailiwick, by force and arms and disseise him [Richard Dudley] of his office.

"main

"main lines" of the pedigree set out in my previous paper and published in the Society's *Transactions* for the year 1892-3.

John Winder, gent, of Nether Lorton,
was bur: at Lorton 21 Nov: 1609.

In a Chancery Bill, 4 April, 1612, *Mabel Winder* relates that she was the *relict* of *John Winder* of *Lorton*, Cumberland, gent, decd., and eldest daughter of Robert Grindell late of St. Beighes, in the said County, gent, deceased, and that Robert Grindell was seized of one messuage and 80 acres of land belonging and parcell of the manner or Lordshippe of St Beighes, at the Will of the Lords of the said manner, at whose death the said messuage, &c. came to her as eldest daughter and heir—but that one *Anne* Grindell during her life, and since her death, one Thomas Wyber[g] husband of the said Anne had got into their hands all the Deeds and Court Rowles concerning the said messuage.....and would not allow her to take the issues and profitts, and since then Henry Lord Bishop of Carlisle, Joseph Pennington, Henry Sandes, Henry Patrickson, Lancelot Fletcher, and — Antrobus, governors of the ffree school of St. Beighes had gotten into their hands the Deeds.....without which she cannot make good her claim—she then prays for a writte of subpœna against the Bishop of Carlisle.*

Will of Peter Winder of Lorton gent, 1651.†

I *Peter Winder* of Lorton, Cumberland, Gent., Sick in body but whole in minde, bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God —my body to be buried in the Church of Lorton—£30 to be paid within 20 days after 2nd Feb. 1652 to *Marke* 'my sonne—To my eldest sonne *John Winder* one Feather bed—To my daughter *Susan Winder* Three score and ten pounds—To Margaret Birkett, my late servant £5—To John Fawcett, Gawen Grigg, Ellinor Thompson, and Elizabeth Herd, my late servants, to each 12 pence—Executrix and residuary legatee *Mabell Winder* my daughter.

Supervisors—*Wm. Winder* my brother, John Winder of Stangends and Cuthbert Peile of Nether Lorton.

Dated 10 Nov. 1651.

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* Chancery Proceedings—Charles I, Bundle 126, No. 151,—at Public Record Office, London.

† Will deposited at Somerset House, London, P.C.C. Alchin. 297.

Witnesses

Witnesses—William Winder, Cuthbert Peill, John Fawcett.

Proved at Westminster 23 *Nov.* 1654, by the oath of Mabell, th daughter and sole executrix named in the will.

Will of Mark Winder, gent (younger son of Peter Winder, gent) 1678.*

Marke Winder of Casay foot in Naddule in Crosthwaite, Cum berland, Gentleman, by Will dated 7 October, 1678 (30th Charles ii proved at Carlisle 28th Octr. 1681, recites an Indenture dated 2n Octr. of the 7 year of Chas. 2nd's reign, and made between Joh Hodgson of ferneside, Cumberland, Yeoman of the 1st part, Jenne Hodgson of Casay foot spinister of the 2nd part, and Gawen Wre of Castlerigg Gentleman, and Robert Grave of High Row yeoman c the 3rd part, provides that in default of heirs of the body of sai Jennet Hodgson the sd John Hodgson should pay to the Admor c the said Jennet £70, that the said Jennet was then dead withou heirs, and that the Testator as *husband* of Jannet had take administration of her goods, and as such was entitled to the £7 and by his Will bequeathed the same.

To his brother John Winder and and his sisters *Susan Irton*, an *Mabel Johnson* equally.

To his nephew *John Winder* 20/-
To his cousin *Samuel Winder* 10/- } to buy rings.
To little *John Johnson* son of *Mabel* 5/-

To his said brother John and his sisters Susan Irton and Mab Johnson, the rest of his goods and oppoints them executors.

Witnesses—Thomas Lamplugh, Chas. Saule.

Will of John Winder Esq. (eldest son and heir o John Winder, Gent, of Lorton) 1699-1700.†

I, *John Winder*, of Grayes Inne, in Co. Mid'sex, Esqr., . . calling to minde the uncertainty of this life, make my last Will a follows:—My soul and spirit into hands of Almighty God, m heavenly Father, by whom of His mercy and only Grace I trust to b saved and reced. into eternall rest . . . thro Jesus Christ. M debts to be truely paid. To my dear wife I give ane annuity or re charge of £80 out of the Manor and Lordship of Dufton in C Westmorland, to receive the same during the natural life of *Ma*

* Will at Carlisle Probate Registry.
† Will deposited at Prerogative Court, York.

Winder, my dear *mother*, and then to cease. Further, I give my said dear wife an annunity of £60 out of the said Manor, clear of taxes, issues, and reprises, for the terme of 99 years, if she, my dear wife, shall so long live, from and immediatly after death of my mother, upon condition nevertheless that my said wife claime noe dower or thirds in my parts of the said Mannor of Dufton. I charge the said Manor with £1,000 to be paid to my daughter Mary, six months after marriage, and with £10 per annum until eleven years old; then £20 per annum until 14 years; and then £30 per annum until 17; and £50 per annum until marriage, and if she marry without consent and approbation of her mother if she be living, or if she be dead, without consent of overseers hereinafter named, then to have £500. I give to my son William Winder,* and his heirs and assigns for ever, the said Manor and Lordship of Dufton, and the advowson of the Church of Dufton, subject to the charges herein named, provided always . . . that the Smelt Mill, Lead Mines, and Royalties within the Manor shall not be lyable to any charges aforesaid, and I devise the said Smelt Mill and Lead Mines, and all other Mines of what kinde soever in the said manor to my said dear wife, and to my Brother *Samuell Winder* their exors. and assigns for for terme of 22 years from my death, with liberty to break ground, digg, search or otherwise worke and winn the same & to lease and demise same for the best and most rent or duety that can be got to such persons as will effectually worke them, in trust nevertheless and for sole benefit of my son William Winder. To my son William I give all my *books*, *manuscripts*, *and mapps*, and my third part of the lead workes in Dufton Fell, in partnership with Mr. Blackwell and Mr. Barugh [Barrow?]. Unto dear wife all my plate, linning, and household stuffe. To my servant, Wilfrid Herbert, £10, and my wearing apparell. I devise to my said dear wife the tuition of my son and daughter, so long as my said wife continues unmarryed and I appoint her executrix, and my Brother Samuell & Jonathan Winder & my mother *Williams* and aunt Dorothy Halton,† to be overseers,

* In Greystoke Register is the following:—"Oct. 1690, born at Johnby Hall in Greystoke Parrish, and the sixteenth Day Baptised *Williams* the son of Mr. John Winder of Lorton (a counsellor at Law)"

† Dorothy Halton (daughter of Miles Halton, Esq., of Greenthwaite Hall, in Greystoke) was of Johnby Hall, died 28th June, 1719—buried at Graystoke, 1st July—By Will, 13 Apl. 1715—she bequeathed the Interest of £20 to be paid the schoolmaster there for teaching poor children of Johnby, and also the interest of £20 to poor of Greystoke and Johnby—(from *The Reliquary*, Jewitt, Octr. 1864, vol. v.)

NOTE.—To the late Rev. Thomas Lees, Vicar of Wreay, near Carlisle, I am indebted for the information that:—"William Williams married in 1666 Barbara Halton, who was sister of Dorothy above mentioned. The Williams family migrated to Cumberland from Glamorganshire."

and

and to everyone of them a gold ring, worth 30s., to wear in remen brance of me, desireing that they will give my dear wife and childre their advice and assistance. In witness whereof I sign my nam sett my seal 22nd July, 1699, in presence of *Humphrey Chethan* Peter Fawcett, Henry Clough, Wilfr. Herbert. Proved 6th Januar 1699-1700 at York, by the Oath of Lettice Winder,* widow, the reli and sole executrix.

Dispute as to property in Papcastle.†

It appears from a dispute with John Watson of Papcastle th *John Winder* of *Lorton Esq.*, was interested in a customary messuag and tenement situated in Papcastle and held of Robert Browne Esq as Lord thereof—for the lives of John Winder *the elder* of Lorto Esq., dec^d^. and Mary his then wife—who was very aged in 1696, t date of the Chancery suit.

The Consulship of Barcelona.
Samuel Winder's Letter to Lord Albemarle.‡

My Lord.

I most humbly beg leave to acquaint your Lordship that befo the departure of my nephew *Wms. Winder* he absolutely promis and assured me over and over, that [he] would not Resign h Consulship any otherwise than under favour and protection of h Grace the Duke of Newcastle to my son *John* and which I have ve good reason to believe he'l be Inflexiable in, he having no other vie therein, but that his kinsman should succeed him in all his busines for shou'd the p'sent Consul die w^th^out your admittance of one of t same Family, our Demands on the Court of Spain wou'd vast suffer (if not be entirely lost) for want of due and proper sollicitatio in the same channel; and I hope my son's Behaviour and character Life has been such, that His Grace will think him a proper Pers for such a station, and will Indulge the family with his favour, w have been great sufferers, particularly myself during ye course upwards of Forty years Trading to ye *Port of Barcelona* and which

* And also the entry:—"Feb. 7th, 1713-4 Buryed Mrs. Lettice Williams Johnby Hall."

† Chancery Proceedings, Bridges 195.

‡ At Public Record Office. Domestic State Papers. Geo. ii, Bundle 2 Part for Feb: No. 6.

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am very ready to demonstrate. I shall not at p'sent Intrude farther on your Lordship's patience save then with great submission to beg your Lordship's Interest and good offices in this affair, which ever will be acknowledging to him who has ye Honour to be with the greatest Respect and obligation.

My Lord
Your Lordships most
Humble and most obedient servant.
[Sign^d] Samuel Winder.

[To Lord Albemarle]

Mark Lane [London]
ye 5 Feby. 1732/3.

SAMUEL WINDER, MERCHANT, PURCHASES PROPERTY IN MARK LANE, LONDON, 1705.*

Samuel Winder of London, Merchant,‡ purchases for £240 one eighth part share of all that messuage or tenement, outhouses, cellars, yards, garnens.....in *Mark Lane*, in Parish of St. Olive, Hart St., and Allhallows, Barking, London, from Elizabeth Hartopp, widow of Thomas Hartop of London, Merchant, and Peter Hartop his son and heir—John Adams being also a party to the agreement —10, July, 1706.

Abraham Beake of London, Merchant, in his Will proved October 1710, mentions his Kinsman and Godson Beake Winder son of his neice Elizabeth Winder (wife of Samuel Winder), and leaves Beake Winder and his brothers and sisters considerable sums of money (£300 each, not including annuities).

JONATHAN WINDER, MERCHANT, PURCHASES PROPERTY IN ALDENHAM, HERTFORD, 1709. †

Jonathan Winder of London, Merchant,‡ purchases for £2,350, the manor lordship of Newberries al^s Bones Bushes in Co. Hertford with all houses.....meadowes.....feeding rents, Courts leet.....belonging lying and being in parish of Aldenham containing 13 acres.....&c..... [fully recited] from Edward Brisco of Newberryes, Esquire—John Delaet of London, Gent, Charlwood Lanton of the Middle Temple, Esquire, and John Travers of London, Merchant, being parties to the Agreement—30 April, 1709.

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* Public Record Office, London, Close Roll—5 Ann—1st Part.
† Close Roll—8th Ann—Part 4, No. 12.
‡ A son of John Winder, gent, of Lorton, who died 1696.

WILLIAMS

WILLIAMS WINDER, ESQ., CONSUL AT BARCELONA.

Translation of the King of Spain's approval of his appointment, 1728.

* Whereas William Winder Esqr., of the English Nation, has represented to me, that the Most Serene King of Great Britain has lately appointed or named him Consul of his Nation in Barcelona, as appears by the Original Patent, of the Fourteenth of February of this present year, which he has delivered, beseeching me that I would be pleased to approve of the said Appointment; and I being pleased to condescend thereto do therefore command the Captain Ceneral, that now is or shall be, of the Principality of Catalonia, the Governor of Barcelona, and the Judges and Justices, whom the Execution of this my Cedula may any ways concern, that they admit him to the use and Exercise of his employ, by which he is not empowered to exercise any Judicial Act, suffering him only to interpose his arbitrage in the Controversys that shall happen between Merchants and Masters of Ships, or between Masters and Sailors, in order to compose them, conformably to which I will and command that he be admitted to the use and Exercise of his Employ, and that he be suffered to raise and receive the Rights and Emoluments belonging to him by reason of his being such Consul, and that he enjoy all the Exemptions Prerogatives and Libertys which the Consuls his Predecessors have enjoyed without laying any Impediment thereon; and I give him power by virtue of what is contained in his Patent, to name Substitutes in the Places of the Dependency of the said Consulship, where he cannot reside personally, provided that those he shall name be natural Subjects of Great Britain, and only in those Districts where it shall appear that they have been such heretofore in the time of the Goverment of Charles the Second my Unckle (who is with God) and provided that the appointments he shall make and shall be presented, be Judicial, and that the Vice-Consuls or Substitutes make it appear that they have the same requisites as the said William Winder the proprietary Consul, and that they serve on his Account and Risque, and solicite and precisely take out a Royal Cedula of my Approbation to enable them to execute their Offices, without which they shall not be admitted to the Use and Exercise of them, for such is my Will. Given at Madrid the 29th of May, 1728.

(LS) I the King,

Juan Baptista de Orendayn.

[Endorsed] Translation of the King of Spain's Cedula of approbation of Mr. Winder's Patent as Consul at Barcelona.

R wth Mr Keene's $\frac{19}{21}$ June 1725.

* B.M. Add MS Translation, 32756, f. 264.

ADDENDA.

As the following Will seems to supply the link connecting the "Lorton" family to "branches" which settled at Winkfield and Bray, in Berks, I subjoin a short abstract—(Oxford Wills, series 2, vol. 1, fo. 387—at Somerset House).

14 Feb: 1609—I Peter Winder, curate & minister of Whitchurch, Oxford—make my Will—Give to Poor of Winfell (Cumberland) where I was born 10/.—To Lorton School, 40/.—To Peter Wilkinson my sister's son, born in Looswater £10—To Joan Deny my sister's youngest daughter £12, to Isabell £5...To Robert Winder, son of my brother Mathew £5—To Cuthbert * my brother's son £3... To Peter Winder my cousin, who is apprenticed to Richd. Whetstone, £10—Both my brethren dwell in Cumberland.

* Probably Cuthbert Winder, Vicar of Wingfield.

ART. XII.—*Carlisle Cathedral. Apse in East Wall of Transept.* By C. J. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Read at Carlisle, Aug. 8th, 1895.

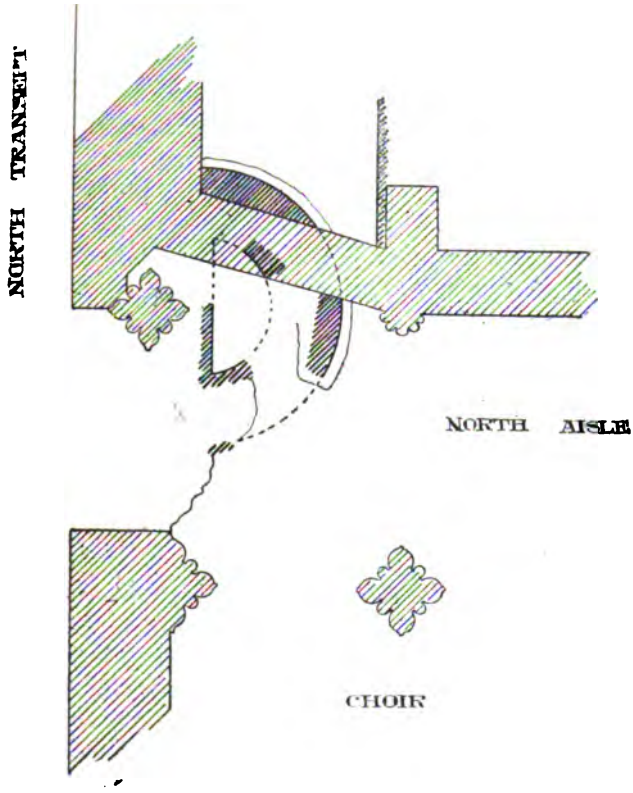
IN October, 1892, in making a channel through the north aisle of the choir of Carlisle Cathedral in connection with the organ, the foundations of a circular building were cut through, which proved on investigation to be the remains of an ancient feretory or apse, projected from the eastern face of the north transept of the Norman Church which preceded the present choir.

The Cathedral Church of Carlisle consists of incomplete portions of two buildings of different design and character, never intended to be brought permanently together, and each intended to form part of a complete Church. To the west we have portions of the nave, aisles, transepts, and central tower of a Norman Church of moderate dimensions, and eastwards a choir and aisles commenced in the 13th century on a much larger scale, greater in width, length and height, the increased width being gained on the north side so as not to interfere with the conventual buildings of the earlier church. The 13th century choir, covered the ground therefore formerly occupied by the presbytery of the Norman Church.

As however this later choir spread 12 ft. further to the north, the arches leading from the northern transept of the Norman Church were useless and were partly destroyed, and with them their apsidal recesses or feretorys, and were replaced by one new arch, giving access to the new north aisle of the choir. In the south transept the original Norman arches still remain and in use, the inner one to give access to the south aisle of the choir, and the outer one to give access to St. Catherine's Chapel which replaced

replaced the apse known to exist there by discoveries made in the restoration of 40 years ago.

The foundations of the apse found in the north side formed a segment of a true circle, having its centre about



APSE CARLISLE CATHEDRAL.

six inches eastward of the outer face of the transept wall, the walls at about 3 feet below the present floor level are 4 ft. 3 ins. thick with an internal diameter of 7 ft. 9 ins. increased by an offset at that level to a diameter of 9 ft. 9 ins. The walls are entirely of stone, dressed with a hatchet

hatchet, built stone to stone, with no sign or trace of a concrete core in the more usual manner of the Normans. The walling stones are of the local red sandstone, not the white stone of which the nave is built.

The accompanying plan to a small scale, shows the position of the apse, at a level of 3 feet below the present floor or thereabouts. I may add that the walls of the aisles of the Norman nave are only about 2 ft. 4 in. thick or thereabouts, which implies a stone construction, the more remarkable as the walls of the adjacent keep of Carlisle Castle are of concrete and of great thickness.

The remains of similar apses in like position, generally on a slightly larger scale, exist at Canterbury, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Norwich, and other places.

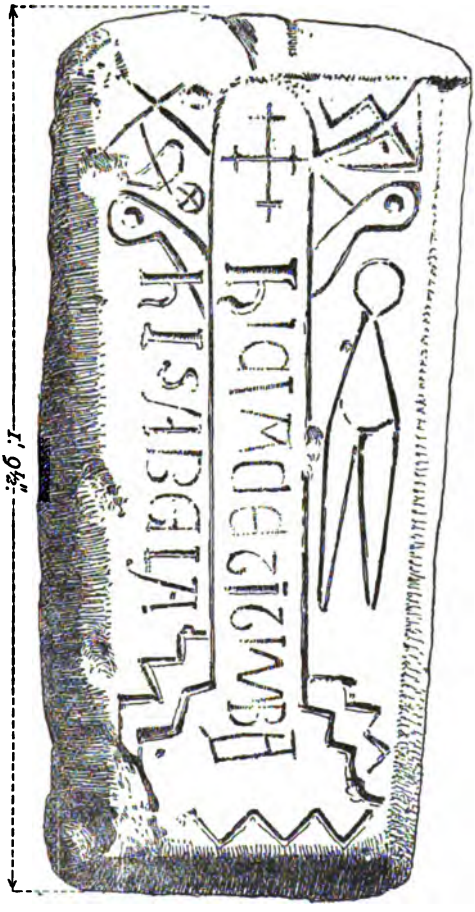
ART. XIII.—*On an Incised Slab found at Croglin, Cumberland.* By the REV. R. S. G. GREEN, M.A.

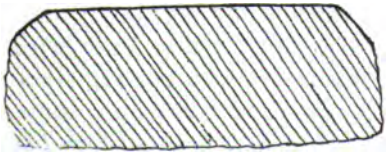
Read at Carlisle, August 8th, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to exhibit a rubbing from a small sepulchral slab, found recently in digging a grave in Croglin churchyard. The slab is about 20 inches long by 9 inches at the broadest end, and 7 inches at the narrowest. The central portion is occupied by what is apparently intended for some sort of floriated cross upon degrees, to the right of which is a pair of sharp-pointed shears. The inscription is much worn, but has been deciphered at the Society of Antiquaries of London, as:

+ HIC JACET I TVMBA HISABELA.

The same authorities say that the slab is apparently of the early part of the fourteenth century. This Society is indebted to them for the loan of the cut given herewith.





SLAB FOUND IN CROGLIN CHURCHYARD.

ART. XIV.—*Cumberland Parish Registers. No.* 1, *Brampton Deanery.* By the REV. H. WHITEHEAD, Vicar of Lanercost.

Contributed at Lanercost, August 8th, 1895.

WHEN dealing with Westmorland Parish Registers (*ante*, xiii, 125-141) I had to rely, for summary of contents of each register, on the printed document, known as the Parish Registers Abstract, compiled from returns made by the clergy, and presented to Parliament in 1833.

But with Cumberland Registers I am not dependent on the Abstract for the summaries, having copied in the British Museum the original returns of the Cumberland clergy.

My chief difficulty in this paper on the Brampton Deanery Registers, the custodians of which have courteously afforded me every facility for inspecting them, will be to avoid saying too much about them. But I will try to exercise self-restraint.

The reader must bear in mind that the returns were made in 1832, and refer only to registers of earlier date than 1813; that Whellan's *History of Cumberland* was published in 1860; and that Bishop Nicolson wrote his *Miscellany Accounts of Carlisle Diocese* in 1703-4.

The name prefixed to each summary is that of the clergyman who made the return in 1832.

If it be asked why, after personal examination of all the Brampton Deanery Registers, do I concern myself at all with the returns of 1832, the answer is that those returns are part of the story of the registers; and it is not uninteresting to notice how far they tally with or differ from what is ascertainable about the registers at the present time; nor is it uninstructive, where some of them differ from the statements of a present-day observer, to shew why they differ. It

It will be seen that only one of the existing registers in this deanery dates from before the Restoration, "few of those on the Borders", as Bishop Nicolson in 1704 observed, "being of elder date" than 1661 (Bp N's *Miscellany Accounts*, p. 105); which may in some cases have been due to neglect of the Commonwealth civil registrars to return them to the churches at the Restoration. But registers of later date than 1661, and even than Bishop Nicolson's time, have disappeared from border parishes; the loss of which has perhaps been mainly due to ignorance of their value on the part of some of their custodians.

BEWCASTLE.

J Graham, Rector:—"No. I, baptisms & burials 1737-1812. No. II, marriages 1738-1812. No deficiencies".

Whellan (p. 635):—"The parish registers commence in the year 1737, but registers of an earlier date are in the registry at Carlisle".

Mr Graham, rector from 1806 to 1834, correctly described the books as he found them. But the marriages from 1738 to 1754, as shewn by an index on the fly-leaf of No. I, and as every one acquainted with the history of parish registers would expect, were originally registered in No. I; from which book the leaves containing them seem to have been taken out, and sewn into the separate book (No. II) procured for marriages by order of Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act in 1753, where Mr Graham found them in 1832. At some time subsequent to Mr Graham's incumbency they were restored to No. I; but, in consequence of having been shifted about, they have become so dilapidated that, when the present rector (Rev T Laurie) recently had No. I rebound, it was necessary to leave them loose. I have, by permission of Mr Laurie, copied these marriage entries of 1738-1753 into some blank pages of No. I, and in places where the MS has been effaced or worn off I have supplied, from the transcripts* at Carlisle, in red ink so as to distinguish them, the missing words and dates.

The Bewcastle transcripts at Carlisle, containing "registers of an

* For free access to the transcripts, and other diocesan documents in his custody, I am greatly indebted to the kindness of the bishop's courteous registrar, Mr. A. N. Bowman.

earlier

earlier date", mentioned by Whellan, begin at 1665, in the handwriting of the then curate, John Raper. Some of them between 1665 and 1690 are missing; but after 1690 only that for 1729 is missing. Whoever then will undertake to copy the contents of the remaining transcripts from 1665 to 1737 into some of the blank pages of No. I, would do a useful work. Nor should he copy only the baptismal, marriage, and burial entries; for the transcripts incidentally supply curious and interesting information outside the province of the register. Often the churchwardens sent in their "presentments" and answers to the visitation "articles of inquiry" on the same paper on which they wrote the transcripts, throwing light on the condition of the churches and the manners of the parishioners in those days.

This register has for the most part been carefully posted up, chiefly by successive curates, the rectors having often been non-resident; and down to 1806 the names of the curate and churchwardens in each year are generally subjoined to a memorandum of the delivery of the transcript to the bishop's registry.

The border families of Armstrong, Graham, Elliot, Ewart, Forrester (Forster), Nixon, Story, and Telford, figure conspicuously in this register, and are still represented in the parish.

BRAMPTON.

T Ramshay, Vicar:—"No. I, baptisms, burials, and marriages, 1663-1729, deficient for five years from 1707 to 1713. Nos. II & III, baptisms and burials 1729-1812, marriages 1729-1754. Nos. IV-VI, marriages 1754-1812".

Whellan (p. 650):—"The registers commence in 1663".

The deficiency reported by Mr Ramshay, vicar 1795-1841, occurred during the incumbency of Richard Culcheth, vicar 1702-1714, who for five years neglected to post up the register. It has evidently not been caused by loss of leaves. The missing entries, however, are in the episcopal registry at Carlisle; where, while vicar of Brampton, 1874-1884, I took a copy of them, and afterwards wrote them in some blank pages of No. III. It may seem strange that there should be at Carlisle a "true copy" of what has never existed. The explanation I take to be this. The entries in those times were sometimes not made until the end of the year (March 24), when they were posted up from rough notes kept by the vicar and clerk; and, but for the necessity of sending in the transcripts, it is likely that the rough notes would sometimes not have been preserved, and the register would have been entirely neglected by careless custodians, as for five years by Mr Culcheth, though during those years he regularly

regularly sent in the transcripts. Even in years when he did post up the register he often made the entries shorter than in the transcripts. Something of the same kind I have noticed when collating other registers with the transcripts; in which cases the transcript seems to be the original document, and the register the copy. This gives additional interest to the transcripts.

In this diocese, with very rare exceptions, the transcripts now extant all date from a time subsequent to the Restoration. The Brampton transcripts begin at 1663.

The churchwardens' presentments are of interest in connection with the history of Brampton Nonconformity.

The register, though in some places the ink is fading, is on the whole in good condition; and the present vicar (Rev S Falle) and churchwardens have had Nos. I & II rebound.

No. I begins with a memorandum, dated "ffeb 8, 1662", of the reading of the xxxix Articles by a new vicar, Philip Feilding, signed by himself, the four churchwardens, and the parish clerk. The date, being "old style", must be regarded as ffeb 8, 1662/3. Mr Feilding's predecessor, Nathaniel Burnand, had been ejected by the Act of Uniformity, which came into operation on August 24, 1662. That an older register book had then already disappeared is evident from a few entries on the flyleaf bearing such dates as 1640, 1641, &c, in the handwriting of the parish clerk, William Collinson, doubtless inserted by request of persons who felt aggrieved at the loss of the older book; which perhaps was never restored by the civil registrar into whose hands it had passed in 1653. After signing the aforesaid memorandum Mr Feilding never again wrote anything in the register, which for more than 40 years was posted up by William Collinson, who also wrote the transcripts, and, though evidently an illiterate man, did this work with such praiseworthy diligence that I made him the subject of a lecture, entitled "A xviith century parish clerk", addressed to the Brampton Literary Society. I also thought it worth while, as his handwriting in many places is very difficult to decipher, to make a transcript of all his entries in the register. Mr Feilding, who died June 22, 1692, aged 53, was only 24 years old when instituted to the vicarage; and the episcopal register shows that he was ordained deacon and priest on the same day, February 1, 1662/3, and instituted on the following day. Like many other vicars in those days he was a pluralist, holding, together with Brampton, the living of Crosby-on-Eden from 1666 to 1670, and Irthington from 1666 to the day of his death. But in this line he was surpassed by Mr Culcheth, who, says Bishop Nicolson, was "endeavouring to hold Stapleton, Upper Denton, and Farlam, in

Commendam

Commendam with ye liveing of Brampton" (*Miscellany Accounts*, p. 143).

It appears from the register that down to the beginning of last century most of the burials from Talkin, which is in Hayton parish, and some of them down to the middle of last century, took place in Brampton churchyard. The tradition on this subject is that funeral cavalcades did not care to encounter the wolves which infested the forest formerly existing between Talkin and Hayton church, and that it was for burying the Talkin dead that the vicar of Brampton had the Talkin hay-tithe; which he still receives. But, having found in old deeds relating to the barony of Gilsland places in Talkin township described as "in villa de Brampton", I incline to think that Talkin was anciently regarded as an outlying part of Brampton parish; and the prolonged continuance of the aforesaid practice may have been due to a survival of sentiment.

Much as I would like to linger over the Brampton register, the contents of which are very familiar to me, and of considerable local interest, I must resist the temptation, and will only add that it may be usefully consulted all the way down for information about the families of Atkinson, Richardson, and Hetherington, and down to about 1750 for the Milburns and Tinniswoods of Talkin.

There is extant a remarkably interesting non-parochial register, *viz*, that of Brampton Presbyterian church, for many references to which see vol viii, pp. 348-372, of these Transactions.

CASTLE CARROCK.

Jno Watson, Rector:—"No. I (paper unbound & much torn), baptisms 1688-1722, burials 1679-1721, marriages 1679-1722. No. II (parchment bound & in good condition), baptisms & burials 1722-1812, marriages 1722-1754. No. III (paper bound) marriages 1754-1812".

Whellan (p. 671):—"The registers commence in 1689".

Whoever supplied the information to Whellan did not look beyond the first page of No. I, or he would have found that the burial and marriage entries commence, as reported by Mr Watson, in 1679. So also, doubtless, did the baptismal entries before No. I became, as Mr Watson found it in 1832, "much torn". It is indeed in very bad condition, without a cover, and much frayed all round the edges, to the partial detriment of its remaining contents; which however are not otherwise incomplete, no leaves except those recording the baptisms of 1679-1688 having been lost. It would be possible, though by no means easy, to bind it, and it is to be hoped that it may not be allowed to remain in its present condition. Its period exactly coincides with the incumbency of Christopher Rickerby, rector

rector 1679-1722, who posted it up very legibly, and himself looms large in its pages. He records himself as married in 1681 to Ann Marryat "at St Mary's, Carlisle"; in 1691 to Theodosia Sargison widow "in the collegiate church of St Catherine's by the Tower of London"; and in 1708 to Hannah Perkin "in the parish church of Kelloe in Bishopricke". His daughter Ann was married in 1698 to Thomas Hetherington "laird of Blettarne in Irthington", and in 1706, described as "the lady of Blettarne widow", to William Atkinson "laird of Milton Hill". Her son, "borne August 17, 1707", he registers as "ye young laird of Milton Hill". In an entry recorded with unusual particularity his surname figures as a christian name: "1713, Rickerby son of Wm Atkinson of Drawdykes borne March 14 between 12 & 1 in ye morneing* & baptized April 9". His second wife's christian name, Theodosia, was adopted for children by three of his parishioners. His church was resorted to by important non-parishioners, *e.g.*, by the vicar of Brampton, Theophilus Garencières for the baptism (1716-1721) of four of his children. Several members of the ancient Talkin families, Milburn and Tinniswood, were baptized, married, or buried there. Elizabeth, heiress of the Milburns of Hullerbank, a family which had supplied a rector (1589-1635) to Castle Carrock and a bishop (1621-1624) to Carlisle, was married in 1718 at Castle Carrock† to Isaac Holme. These particulars by no means exhaust the interest of Mr Rickerby's register, but for lack of space I must only add that it contains several pages of churchwardens' accounts, and a curious document, "a just and æqual division of the church at Castle Carrocke amongst the tenants & cottagers with the general consent, every man 3 yards & a half to each toft or tenement, this December 28, 1713", twenty-three men, names all recorded, with "1 pte" assigned to each of 18 of them, and "2 ptes" to each of the other five. The missing words in the gap, occasioned by a rent at the edge of the leaf, are supplied by the churchwardens' presentments for that very year (1713), when five of the 23 men whose names occur in the "just & æqual division" were presented "for not fencing their share of the church yard wall, all the rest being new fenced, & most of these persons dissenters". From which it appears, "all the rest being new fenced", that the "division" was not for a rate, to be paid to a contractor, but that each man was to do his own

* "Sometimes the time of birth was recorded with great precision to assist the astrologer in casting the nativity of the child" (C Waters on *Parish Registers*, p. 35).

† But there is also an entry of this marriage in the Hayton register.

"share"

"share" of the work, or to get it done, and that in five places on this occasion it remained undone; an odd arrangement, yet not unique, as I know from similar documents in other parishes, *e.g.* in Newton Reigny.

No. II, a parchment book of 120 pages, is not in as "good condition" as in Mr Watson's time, some of its sections being now loose from the cover; but it might be easily repaired. Its first entry records the burial of Mr Rickerby on April 14, 1722, in the handwriting of his successor, Joseph Pattinson. But, though first in point of time, it is a long way from first in place, and only discoverable after research; for the book at first sight conveys the impression that at some time its leaves, having become loose, were re-sewn to the cover without due regard to the sequence of their contents, as will appear from the following summary:

No II.—Baptisms, Burials, & Marriages, 1740-1756, marriages relegated to separate book in 1754; Marriages (upside-down & backwards) 1722-1737; Baptisms & Burials 1756-1777; Baptisms 1777-1811; Baptisms (upside-down & backward) 1722-1739; Burials 1722-1739; Baptisms 1812; Eight blank pages; Burials (upside-down & backwards) 1777-1812.

Close examination however does not confirm the supposition that the contents of this book are not in their original places. The present disorder has resulted in this way. Mr Pattinson, rector from 1722 to 1738, began the burial entries on the 92nd page, the baptisms (upside-down) on p. 91, and the marriages (upside-down) on p. 85. This was not a good arrangement even could he have felt sure that his successors would continue it. The next rector, John Pearson, at once discarded it, and turning to the beginning of the book adopted the plan of recording the events successively as they occurred; for which method in those days, when a single book had to serve the three purposes of registration, there is much to be said. But here it involved in due course a skip over the upside-down marriage entries of 1722-1739, which now may easily evade the notice of anyone not well acquainted with the register. Mr Pearson died in 1777, aged 84, having been rector 38 years. His successor Richard Dickenson, who was buried at Carlisle in 1816, aged 93, may have been non-resident. Anyhow he left the register entirely to his curate, John Parker, p. curate (1765-1813) of Cumrew, who, relegating the burials to the end of the book, went on with baptisms alone, the marriages having of course since 1754 been registered in a separate book, until, after skipping over the baptisms (upside-down) and burials (right way up) of 1722-1739, he filled a page with the baptisms of 1812, at the end of which year all further progress in

No.

No. II was stopped by Rose's Act. Meanwhile he had been registering the burials upside-down from the end of the book until they too were stopped by Rose's Act, leaving eight pages blank. It may occur to some persons that the best thing to do with this book would be to detach the leaves from the cover, and rebind them arranged in the right sequence of their contents. The objection to this plan is that it would aggravate the confusion arising from several of the leaves having the entries on one page upside-down and on the other the right way up, the dates on the two pages being wide apart. Mr Parker and the late rector (T C Vaughan) supplied notes here and there directing where next to turn; and the story of the book, as I have now told it, will further lessen the difficulty of understanding its contents.

No. III, containing marriages 1754-1812, is not the authorised book "published according to Act of Parliament by Joseph Fox Parish Clerk to the House of Commons", with pages not only ruled but partly printed, and "specimen forms" filled up on its flyleaf. It is a book 8 inches by 6, each page of which has lines ruled in red ink, but with no heading or printed matter of any kind.

The Castle Carrock transcripts begin at 1667. Those for 1670, 73-4-5, 1681, 84, 87-8, are missing, but from those that remain all the lost entries of eight of the years from 1667 to 1679 and the lost baptismal entries of eight of the eleven following years can be recovered for the register.

The predominating clan in Castle Carrock three centuries ago, as shewn by the *Field Book of the Barony of Gilsland* (A D 1603), and, though to a less degree, in the last century, as shewn by the register, were the Hodgsons. But the present rector (Rev R G O'Gorman), to whom I wrote asking whether any of them still remained in the parish, replied that he buried the last of them the very day on which he received my letter.

CUMREW.

Jno Watson, Curate:—"No. I (parchment & bound), baptisms and burials 1731-1812. No. II (paper bound) marriages 1755-1811".

Whellan (p. 42):—"The registers commence at 1579".

Bp Nicolson (p. 111):—"The Register-Book is onely of paper; and begins at 1639. It appears in it that a great many Children of Foreigners were baptized here in the time of the Civil Wars by one Mr *Alexander Allan*; who, they say, was a *Scot* and reckon'd a more knowing and pretious man (in his way) than most of his brethren".

Mr Watson, curate (perpetual) of Cumrew from 1828 to 1866, and rector

rector of Castle Carrock from 1828 to 1839, failed to observe that the book at Cumrew which he reported as No. I contains marriages down to the passing of Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act in 1753. Nor does he seem to have been aware of the existence of an older book, beginning at 1679; which Whellan, by a copyist's error or a misprint, has reported as beginning at 1579.

A still older book, beginning at 1639, but now missing, was evidently seen by Bishop Nicolson, when he visited Cumrew in 1703.

The oldest existing register, a paper book, 7 inches by 5¼, bound in leather, contains

Baptisms 1679-1690, 1695-1707, 1709-1731
Burials 1679-1689, 1695-1706, 1709-1731
Marriages 1679-1731.

But these entries do not occur in the order in which I have placed them. The book begins with baptisms 1717-1731, without a flyleaf or heading to its first page, suggesting the inference that these baptismal entries do not now occupy their original place in the register; which inference seems to be confirmed when later on we find baptisms 1709-1717 ending with an entry dated October 8, 1717, at the bottom of a page, and turning back to the first entry in the book find it dated October 31, 1717, all the entries from 1709 to 1724 being in the same handwriting. But this is a matter on which the story of the Castle Carrock No. II forbids the drawing of hasty conclusions.

At intervals throughout this Cumrew book occur various and mostly copious memoranda: churchwardens' accounts, with special reference to extensive "reparacon" of the church in 1684-5-6; forty "king's briefs" from 1679 to 1697, the amounts collected varying from "6-4½ for relief of Irish Protestants" down to "1d for reparacon of St Alban's", the brief for Irish Protestants signed by "Will. Nicolson, Archdeacon"; long memorandum in 1715 of "absolution & release from sentence of excomunication"; two baptismal entries dated 1676, and two 1667, doubtless originally in older book no longer extant, one of them recording baptism (in 1667) of "Marke son of Henry Gill", ancestor of present-day Gills of Cumrew; farewell note by Mr John Calvert, stating that he "served the curacy from October 1679 to July 1690, and left ye church complete within & without, and ye people in good order, good xtians, Soli deo gratia"; scraps of Latin, not always as correct as Mr Calvert's, by other curates, *e.g.*, "scriptum per me quintus die mensis Novembris 1697", and "parcere subjectis atque debellare superbos"; yearly distribution of "interest of church stock" among the poor; notices of nomination of new incumbents

incumbents; sixty one affidavits of "burying in wollen" with names of the witnesses and officiating minister; items (undated) of assessments, church rate, "progall and income tax"; and several long and curiously worded memoranda of gifts bestowed by John Calvert and others on the church, attested by the signatures of the churchwardens and some of the leading parishioners, *e.g.*, "September 11, 1687, Mr John Beacham and Tho Simpson churchwardens, Mr John Atkinson, Thos Ivison p'ish clerk, Mr John Dixon (procter), Chris Gill, Adam Hodgson", each of whom made "his mark".

Much more, if space permitted, might be said about this old book; which, if printed, well edited, and carefully collated with the transcripts, would be highly interesting to students of local history. Meanwhile it needs repair.

Of the aforesaid names Atkinson, Gill, and Ivison, still remain in the parish. But who and what was the "procter"? The churchwardens for 1713-4 in their "presentments" say: "The churchyard wall is not cannonical but ought to be repaired, & ye house yt belongs to ye procter of Cumrew". There is not now in the parish, nor has there been within living memory, any one called the "procter"; and this designation would have puzzled posterity if Bishop Nicolson, writing in 1704, had not incidentally explained its meaning. Speaking of the church as "stuff'd a little too much with seats" he says: "There's one for the Curate himself, or (his patron) the Dean and Chapter; another for the procteur, as they call him, or Lessee of the Tithes; and a third for Laird Atkinson, the richest man in the parish" (*Miscellany Accounts*, p. 111). The procter then was the man who, according to the custom of those times, leased the tithes from the Dean and Chapter, to whom they then belonged. They now belong to the incumbent, to whom they were made over in 1872. He is therefore now virtually the rector, though for some reason which I do not understand he can only legally be called the vicar*; which designation, like all other p. curates, he received by Lord Blandford's Act in 1868.

The separate book for marriages (1754-1812) is, as at Castle Carrock, not the authorised book, but one 8 inches by 6¾, ruled with red ink lines, without printed matter of any kind.

The transcripts begin at 1665; but those for 1668, 1671, 1673, 1675, 1676, and 1678, are missing. Some of the later transcripts

* Bishop Goodwin, when instituting me to Newton Reigny, in 1885, said: "You *are* the rector; but I may not call you so". The Newton parishioners, however, always speak of their minister as "the rector".

are

are also missing; but the loss of these is of the less consequence as the register begins at 1679. I found, by the way, among the Cumrew transcripts, one from Raughton Head (1755-6) signed by "Jos Sevithwaite,† Vicar", which had been put there by accident, and has now been transferred by the registrar to its proper place.

Mr Calvert, whose name figures conspicuously (1679-1690) in the miscellaneous contents of Cumrew register, and who devoted himself with considerable energy to the repair of the church, when signing his last transcript, wrote (in very ornamental style): "Our church is completely repaired within & without, and nothing is wanting in her to a church, nor will be we think for 60 years to come if ill hands keep off". He was evidently anxious that posterity should not be unacquainted with his work. Yet his name has not found a place in the local histories. Whellan, the only county historian who gives any list of the Cumrew incumbents, records none of earlier date than William Wilkinson, nominated in 1724. In partial remedy of this defect I subjoin the names of some of Mr Wilkinson's predecessors, recovered from various sources. Christopher Rickerby, afterwards rector of Castle Carrock, signs the Cumrew transcripts as curate in 1674-1676. John Calvert, afterwards p. curate of Rockliffe, was p. curate of Cumrew from 1679 to 1690. Philip Musgrave is mentioned as curate in connection with briefs in 1690 and 1691. John Atkinson nominated 1695. John Wilkinson signs distribution of church stock in 1696 and 1697. Thomas Addison signs as curate in 1699, and is mentioned as curate by Bishop Nicolson in 1703 (*Miscellany Accounts*, p. 112). Christopher Rickerby junior, nominated in 1704, signs the stock in 1706 and 1707. John Hunter was curate 1709-1724, and may be some of the contscribe whose entries raise the question whether p. 220). of this book are in their original order (*ante*

John Parker, p. curate (17 -1813) of Cumrew, was from 1777 to 1813 assistant curate to Rickar Dickenson, rector (probably non-resident) of Castle Carrock (*ante* p. 218).

CUMWHITTON.

Samuel Hudson, P. Curate: — "No. I, baptisms, burials, & marriages, 1694-1731, very imperfect and in some places almost illegible. No. II, in better condition, baptisms & burials 1732-1783,

* Vicar of Castle Sowerby 1739-1762.

marriages

marriages 1732-1753. No. III, christenings & burials 1783-1812. No. IV, marriages 1754-1812".

Whellan (p. 673):—"The parish registers are preserved from 1731".

Whellan or his informant failed to notice No. I, which is still extant. It is an octavo volume, 7 inches by 5½, bound in rough boards, perhaps originally covered with calf, containing 64 leaves of rough white paper; the first nine of which record burials 1695-1711 and marriages 1699-1700; the next 32 leaves are blank, except one page, on which are seven entries relating to the Morley family; and the last 23 contain (upside-down) baptisms and marriages 1701-1731, and burials 1711-1731.

This volume is certainly "imperfect", especially in the marriage entries, down to 1711, but nowhere "illegible". The first nine leaves are also much worn away at their edges; but with care the book might and should be repaired.

On the flyleaf are recorded three baptisms (two dated 1681 and one 1685), the burial in 1694 of "Francis son to William Morley", and (with the date worn off) "Eliz. Dridon buried". These entries were doubtless made in consequence of the loss of an older book which had contained them, and because of the importance of the families with which they were concerned. Two p. curates of Cumwhitton married into the Morley family:—

1713, May 31, Mr Nicholas Reay & Eliz Morley married

1726, Aug 31, Mr Andrew Bell & Mary Morley married.

Mr Reay's marriage, by the way, is also recorded in the Castle Carrock register. Hutchinson (vol i, p 177), writing in 1794, and quoting from Housman's *Notes*, says: "The family of Dryden are said to have been settled here for several generations; they are people of property, and have always been greatly esteemed for their industry, honesty, and simplicity of manners. From an old writing remaining in the family, made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it appears that Erasmus Dryden, of Canons-Abbey in Northamptonshire Esq, had then some estates in Cumwhitton parish, and the present possessors are of the same family". Both of these names, Morley and Dryden still remain in the parish. Dryden also occurs, variously spelt, in Brampton, Lanercost, and Walton registers.

The same flyleaf contains memoranda of eight "briefs" in 1704, and four in 1705, the total sum collected by the twelve being only 5 shillings, more than half of which was "concerning the poor sufferers of Orange".

Mr Nicholas Reay, noticed above as wedded to Elizabeth Morley in 1713, deserves honourable mention as an exceptionally careful registrar

registrar. Beginning with his "nomination, November 23, 1711, from ye Worshipful ye Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, to ye Curacy of Cumwhitton", he prefaces his entries with this heading: "A Register of all Weddings, Births, and Burials, in the parish of Cumwhitton, since January the first Anno Domini (according to the Supputation of ye Church of England) 1711". It was a mere coincidence that he began his work in the register on the first day (January 1) of the historical year. So he was careful to note that his chronology was "according to the Supputation of ye Church of England", since at that time, whereas January 1 had long been adopted as the first day of the historical year, the ecclesiastical as well as the legal and civil year did not begin till March 25. His date, January 1, 1711, therefore, according to historical computation, was January 1, 1712. It is noticeable that, whereas he describes his register as of "Weddings, *Births*, and Burials", the only birth-date he records is that of one of his own children: "1716 April 6 Margaret daughter of Mr Reay born". His other children, and all other children, he registered as baptized. His daughter Margaret was doubtless baptized elsewhere. Why then did he record her birth in Cumwhitton register? Because of Act 7 & 8 William III, c. 36, for some account of which see *ante*, vol v, pp 35-6; and it may have been owing to the same Act that he substituted births for baptisms in his heading to the register. He wrote quite a copper-plate hand, which it is a pleasure to read. We shall meet with it again in two other registers in this deanery.

The transcripts begin at 1665; but from that date to the first year of the existing register (1694) only nine are extant. Thence to 1711 eight are extant. None of Mr Reay's transcripts (1711-1718) are missing. He wrote them with his accustomed care, and on excellent paper. Too often in those days transcripts were written on such scraps of paper that it is no wonder that many of them are now missing.

To the meagre list of Cumwhitton p. curates supplied by Whellan (the only local historian who gives any list at all) which begins with Edward Anderson (1813) may be added from various sources a few other names. Lord William Howard's *Housebook* has these items: "1624, Nov 16, Pay'd to Sir Thomas Millburn, clarke, late curate of Cumwhitton, for serving the cure thear since my Lord's entrance to the same, xxx^{s}" (p 219); and "1633, Dec 13, To Richard Gibson, Viker of Cumwhitton, for his halfe yeare's wages for serving the cure ther, due at St Thomas' Daye, iij^{li}" (p 339). In Cumrew register an affidavit of a "burial in woollen" was written on July 3, 1681, "coram Johanne Stanwix curate de Cumwhitton", who signs the

Cumwhitton

Cumwhitton transcript in 1689. Bishop Nicolson in 1704 mentions "Mr Robley their new curate" and "Mr Sommers ye late curate here" who "modest and humble as merely schoolmaster quitted them soon after he had gotten Deacon's orders; let not Robley do the like" (*Miscellany Accounts*, p. 113). Nicholas Reay was p. curate here 1711-1718. Andrew Bell was nominated in 1725.

Besides the two names already mentioned, Dryden and Morley, the following names, prevalent here 200 years ago, are still represented in the parish; Fisher, Hall, Hewitson, Leach, and Pearson.

On a pew appropriated to the Fishers of Nunfield in this parish are, in raised letters, the initials F R & M F, and the date 1700. The name Nunfield is derived from Nunnery in Ainstable parish, to the lord of which in accordance with an ancient custom the owner of Nunfield estate formerly paid a goose and a cartload of coals yearly (Whellan, p. 673).

Samuel Hudson, who forwarded the return in 1832, though not included by Whellan among the p. curates of Cumwhitton, is mentioned by him as rector of Castle Carrock 1832-1835; on which I have to remark that the lists of p. curates in the local histories are far more incomplete than those of rectors or vicars, the reason being that the Carlisle episcopal registers, as far as I have searched them, while recording the institution of the latter seldom record the licensing of the former. The present vicar of Cumwhitton (Rev J Maudsley) informs me that Samuel Hudson's first entry in the register is dated June 11, 1821, and his last July 7, 1835. I do not, as a rule, think it worth while to supply names of incumbents unmentioned in the local histories since 1754, because they can easily be obtained from the marriage register after that date, and from the baptismal or burial register after 1812; of which facility however the historians have insufficiently availed themselves. There was a Samuel Hudson who was vicar of Castle Sowerby from 1801 to 1841, perhaps the father of the p. curate of Cumwhitton; for Castle Sowerby is too distant from Cumwhitton for it to be likely that both livings were held by the same man.

DENTON NETHER.

T Ramshay, Rector: "No. I, baptisms & burials 1703-1812, marriages 1703-1753. No. II, marriages 1754-1812. I certify this to be the amended return. T.R.".

Whellan (p 624): "The registers commence in 1711".

Whellan is incorrect. The registers begin, as reported by Mr Ramshay, in 1703.

Mr Ramshay,

Mr. Ramshay, rector of Nether Denton 1795-1834, was also (1795-1841) vicar of Brampton, where he resided, and had perhaps left the return in 1832 to be sent in by his curate, who must have made some mistake, which was perceptible to Mr Rickman, clerk of the House of Commons, to whom all the returns were addressed, and who was from first to last the prime mover in this useful work. He it was who first suggested the call for the returns. "The value of such a test, it was not doubted, would be very great, if government would sanction the addition of this to the population inquiries. This sanction Mr Rickman obtained, and hence the publication of that useful document the *Parish Registers Abstract*" (Burn's *History of Parish Registers*, p 13). There is extant in the British Museum a letter from Lord Melbourne's secretary, stating his lordship's approval of Mr Rickman's further suggestion "that the answers of the clergy with regard to extant parish registers should be deposited in the British Museum", and desiring him "to take the necessary steps to carry this arrangement into effect". Nor did he discharge this duty in a perfunctory manner; for when he had reason to think that a return was incorrect he wrote to the sender, asking him to amend it, *e.g.* to Mr Ramshay, whose reply shews that Mr Rickman's doubt had been well founded. I suspect that inaccuracy was often due to the reporter's ignorance of the way in which the registers were affected by Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act. Such inaccuracy would of course be detected by an expert; though, by the way, Mr Rickman should have asked for an "amended return" from Cumrew (*ante*, p. 220).

Mr Nicholas Reay, formerly p. curate of Cumwhitton (*ante*, p. 223), rector of Nether Denton 1718-1736, in his answers to the *Articles of Inquiry* in 1718, said: "There is no parchment book, wherein the year and day of each wedding, christening, and burial, are recorded". He could not have meant that there was no register book at all, but that there was only a paper book; the contents of which, since 1703, we find that he copied into a parchment book, to which he prefixed this heading: "The Register Book of the Parish of Denton wherein the Day of every Christening, Wedding & Burial in the sd Parish is registered since the year of our Lord God 1702. N.B. The year of our Lord God still beginneth on the 25th of March". Mr Reay, as I have before noticed, was an excellent registrar, and one might naturally think that he found no register extant of earlier date than 1703, or he would have copied it; but this, as will be seen later on, cannot be taken for granted.

The existing No. I, its cover and leaves having become loose, has recently been rebound by order of the present rector (Rev A O'Connor) and churchwardens. Among

Among the rectors preceding Mr Reay were the Culcheths, father and son; but how long the father held the benefice the county histories do not state. Thus Nicolson & Burn say (II, p 510): "In 1692 William Culcheth was rector, and resigned; after him Richard Culcheth; on whose cession in 1703 Thomas Pearson B A was collated by Bishop Nicolson". That W Culcheth held Nether Denton at least 25 years is evident from the fact of the oldest extant Nether Denton transcript (1667) being signed "W Culcheth, rector". He was probably a son of the "Mr Culcheth" who is mentioned in Lady Halketh's *Autobiography* (quoted in a note to p. 297 of Lord William Howard's *Housebook*) as "steward at Naworth Castle" in 1649. Richard Culcheth's "cession" of Nether Denton occurred soon after, and perhaps in consequence of, his institution to Brampton in 1702. Bishop Nicolson, visiting Nether Denton on May 7, 1703, calls him "the late incumbent" (*Miscellany Accounts*, p 3); and Nether Denton was not one of the four livings which the bishop on February 26, 1703-4, said he was endeavouring to hold (*ante*, p. 215).

The transcripts begin at 1667; between which year and 1703, when Mr Reay's copy of the old register begins, fourteen of them are missing. Thence to 1718 five are missing. Of Mr Reay's transcripts (1718-1736), beautifully written, as usual, and on good paper, none are missing.

Equally characteristic of Mr Reay's love of order is the following protest in the first "presentment" after his institution as rector: "1718, the steeple of our church is not in good repair, neither have we any bell; no decent communion table in the chancel, neither is there a carpet of silk or other decent stuff to cover the same in time of divine service, neither is there any linnen cloth to cover the elements of bread and wine".

Among the most prevalent names in this register are Bell, Carrick, and Hutton, the two former of which still remain in the parish.

Down to the year 1736 the baptisms, burials, and marriages, of over Denton parish, were registered at Nether Denton.

DENTON OVER.

Geo Gilbanks, Perpetual Curate:—"There are no registers anterior to 1813. Baptisms, burials, and marriages, 1736-1812, were entered at Lanercost, and previous to that period (from the best information) at Nether Denton."

Mr Gilbanks, p. curate (1786-1845) of Lanercost, Over Denton, and Farlam, correctly reported from personal observation that the Over Denton "baptisms, burials, and marriages, 1736-1812, were entered

at

at Lanercost", and was accurately informed that they were entered "previous to that period at Nether Denton".

Over Denton, a small parish of 1039 acres, though in the county of Cumberland, was anciently regarded as in the diocese of Durham, but in 1703 was transferred to the bishop (Nicolson) of Carlisle (*Miscellany Accounts*, p. 4), when Richard Culcheth, if he ever held it at all, after his "cession" of Nether Denton, only held it a few months. From 1704 to 1736 it was successively held by Thomas Pearson and Nicholas Reay, rectors of Nether Denton, but in 1736, on the death of Mr Reay, was transferred to Thomas Fawcett, p. curate of Lanercost, by whose successors it was held with Lanercost and Farlam until 1859, when it was annexed to the then newly-formed ecclesiastical parish of Gilsland.

Some years ago a correspondent of one of the Carlisle newspapers wrote: "I respectfully submit that there is no place known to the oldest inhabitant as Over Denton; there are certainly Upper and Nether Denton, and they are sometimes spoken of as High and Low Denton". But, whatever they may be called by inhabitants, old or young, documentary evidence inclines to Over and Nether. It is true Bishop Nicolson (1703-4) and Lord William Howard's *Housebook* use indiscriminately Over or Upper. But they are Over and Nether in the Denton MSS (1610), in Speed's Map of Cumberland (1610), Nicolson and Burn (1774), Hutchinson (1794), Lysons (1828), and the Ordnance Map (1867). Whellan (1860) and the Lanercost register use Upper; and High Denton only occurs in Brampton Presbyterian register.

In this parish is situated Sir Walter Scott's Mumps Ha'. Nether Denton burial register has the following entry: "1717 Margt wife of Thos Carrick of Monks Hall Dec 15". In other years the name occurs in the register as Mumps Hall,* and indeed is so styled on Margaret Carrick's tombstone in Over Denton churchyard. We may therefore perhaps regard "Monks Hall" as merely a guess on the part of the then rector of Nether Denton, Thomas Pearson. Margaret Carrick is stated on her tombstone to have died "in the 100th year of her age". In the same churchyard lies her granddaughter "Margaret Teasdale of Mumps Hall who died May 5, 1777, aged 98 years". Tourists, misled by some of the guide books, identify Margaret Teasdale with Meg Merrilies. But she (Mt Teasdale) was the original of the landlady of the inn, called in the novel Tibb Mumps, and in local tradition Meg of Mumps' Ha'. Her burial is registered at Lanercost.

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* Mumper=a beggar. Mumps Hall=Beggars' Hall. A cottage is not likely to be a monks' hall, while it might be a beggars' hall.—R.S.F.

FARLAM.

FARLAM.

G Gilbanks, Curate:—"No. I, baptisms & burials 1700-1782, marriages 1700-1753. No. II, baptisms & burials 1783-1812. No. III marriages 1754-1812.

Whellan (p 676):—"The Parish Registers extend over 200 years".

Mr Gilbanks, who resided at Lanercost, seems to have been unaware that there was extant at Farlam an older book; now very dilapidated, which in 1832 or even in Whellan's time (1860) may have dated from 1660. It is of parchment, has long been without a cover, and now contains baptisms 1665-1724 and marriages 1672-1724. It should be rebound.

The book regarded by Mr Gilbanks as No. I is for its first 24 years a copy of the last 24 years of the older book, in the handwriting of Mr Nicholas Reay, p. curate (1711-1718) of Cumwhitton, rector of Nether Denton and p. curate of Farlam and of Over Denton from 1718 to 1736. We have seen that the first 15 years of the existing Nether Denton register are a copy made by Mr Reay from an older book no longer extant; and, seeing that he did not copy the old Farlam register from its beginning, we must not assume that he copied the Denton register from its beginning. We should have been glad if he had copied all he found in both of them. But as he did so much it would be ungracious to complain that he did not do more. Nor, as he preserved the old Farlam register, may we doubt that he also preserved the old Denton register, the loss of which has probably occurred since his time. It is to be noticed that his copy of the old Farlam register includes six years (1718-1724) of the time when he was p. curate of Farlam. He resided at Denton, and until 1724 left the Farlam register to be posted up by an assistant curate. After making his copy he himself posted up the register in the new book during the remainder (1724-1736) of his incumbency.

In 1886 or thereabouts the late Mrs George Thompson of Farlam Hall, observing the condition of the old register, undertook to copy it from its beginning in 1665, and with exemplary perseverance copied the whole of it down to its end in 1724, presumably unconscious that a copy of its contents from 1700 to 1724, in the copperplate handwriting of Mr Reay, was in the parish chest, where it had lain for 150 years.

Mr Reay, though included by the county historians in their lists of the rectors of Nether Denton, is not mentioned by them as p. curate of Farlam. They are capriciously defective in such matters. Thus, while no Farlam incumbent later than Robert de Hayton (1373) is mentioned by Hutchinson or by Nicolson & Burn, Whellan has

has no record of any earlier than G Gilbanks (1786) except his immediate predecessor whom he mentions as "Townley——". No doubt the making even of an imperfect list, where the benefice was formerly neither a rectory nor a vicarage, is not easy. But some additional names may be supplied. Henry Gill often signs the transcripts from 1674 to 1694, and Thomas Milburn in 1700-1, of whom Bishop Nicolson in 1703 (May 7) says: "The present curate (Mr Milburn) is an honest man, and deserves a better support" (*Miscellany Accounts*, p. 4). Ten months later (February 26, 1703-4) we find Richard Culcheth "endeavouring to hold" Farlam with three other livings (*ib*, p. 143). Whether he succeeded in holding Farlam, and, if not, who did hold it from 1704 to 1718, there is nothing either in the register, the transcripts, or the county histories, to shew. The succession continues thus, Nicholas Reay 1718-1736, Thomas Fawcett 1736-1746, George Story 1746-1774, William Townley 1774-1786, the last three of whom, as well as George Gilbanks, held Lanercost and Over Denton with Farlam.

The transcripts begin in 1665, and except for the years 1673, 79, 80, 90, 92-3, 1703, and 1719, are complete as far as I have examined them, *i.e*, to 1736. Mr Reay, residing at Denton, did not for three years (1718-20) himself write or sign them. When he did take them in hand he never missed sending them.

The register may be consulted for information concerning the ancient Farlam families of Bell, Bowman, and Milburn; of which only Bell now remains in the parish.

In 1670 the churchwardens in a lofty spirit of self-satisfaction wrote: "As for answer to ye inquiries they are as sufficient as any in the Barony". Not so in 1704, when two men are presented "for refusing to give account of money collected for ye public use of ye Parish", another man "for refusing to give account of the Church stock", another "for embezelling ye Church stock", and another "for saying he would not come to be churchwarden". Nor again in 1724, when two men are presented "for profaning the Lord's day by unlawful games & threatening the churchwarden when he reprov'd them & told them they shd be presented for so doing in saying that if he presented them they would be full of his flesh".

HAYTON.

R Rice, P. Curate:—"No. I, baptisms 1637-1730, burials and marriages 1620-1730. No. II, baptisms to 1811, burials to 1782. No. III, marriages 1754-1811".

The Parish Registers Abstract* has a different summary of Mr

* Our local antiquaries may like to know that the Cumberland and Westmorland parts of the Parish Registers Abstract are among the books bequeathed by the late Mr W Jackson F.S.A. to Tullie House.

Rice's

Rice's return, *viz.*:—"Nos. I—III, baptisms 1637-1720, 1730-1812, burials 1620-1810, marriages 1620-1753; interrupted by IV, burials 1782-1789. Nos. V & VI marriages 1754-1812". This looks like an "amended return", which I may have overlooked when copying the returns in the British Museum. Or it may not have been deposited there.

Whellan (p 678):—"The registers commence in 1620".

A valuable paper on "Hayton Parish Registers" was contributed to these Transactions (*ante* iv, 425-456) in 1879 by Canon Dixon, the well known church historian, vicar of Hayton 1875-1883.

He says that "the earliest remaining book carries on the three events of life from 1622 down to 1722", and "is followed by a thin paper book, half of which is taken up by churchwardens' accounts, while the other half carries on the baptisms, marriages, and burials, from 1722 to 1730; the third register, a parchment book in good preservation, contains baptisms and burials from 1730 to 1810, and marriages down to 1753".

Speaking of the oldest existing book Canon Dixon says: "It is a book of paper, and has been very badly kept. The covers are gone, the book itself is nearly broken through the middle, the beginning and end are so dog-eared that little can be made of them. The baptisms come first, and the first five or six leaves of them are undecypherable through these causes" (p 426); which seems to explain why the baptisms were reported by Mr Rice as beginning at 1620. Having had occasion many years ago to study this book for several purposes I can fully substantiate Canon Dixon's description of it. I have never seen a register in a more deplorable condition; which was the more to be regretted as its contents are very interesting. Canon Dixon, lest it should go further to pieces, and doubting whether it was possible to bind it, had a special case made for it. In 1893, however, his successor (Rev T Wallace) had it rebound, and the work has on the whole been remarkably well done. But unfortunately the binder has cut away an important part of a famous entry. The story of that entry I need not repeat, as I have told it at some length in a paper entitled "Robert Bowman's supposed baptismal register" (*ante*, v, pp 33-38). One sentence, however, I must quote: "After all its inspections, by Dr Barnes and others, by successive vicars of Hayton, by myself when uncritically glancing at it, and after certificated copies of it have been sent here and there as the baptismal register of Robert Bowman, this much-examined entry turns out to be no baptismal entry at all; nor does it mention the christian name or even the sex of the child to whom it has reference. Let the reader examine it himself in the accom-

panying

panying fac-simile" (*ib*, p 35). The fac-simile is a photograph of the entry in question, at the foot of a page, ending with the words "the birth of a child", the bearing of which upon the alleged longevity of Robert Bowman (119 years) is fully explained in the paper. Well, those words will never again be seen in the register; and, but for the photograph, it would be open to question whether I accurately observed them.

Among names occurring all the way down the register a foremost place is taken by the Grahams of Edmond Castle; and "most of the familiar surnames of the district, as Milbourne, Noble, Robson, Thompson, Knight, Dixon, Railton, Mulcaster, Hill, Bird, and Newton, occur from the very first" (*ante*, iv, p 426).

Availing himself of "chance references" in the register "to determine approximately the succession of p. curates or ministers, and the dates of their cures", incompletely recorded by the other county historians, Canon Dixon says: "Thomas Knight was curate in 1698, and still remained in 1716. George Hodgson succeeded him; he was a very bad writer, or at least used very bad ink. Christopher Rickerby was curate in 1698, and still remained in 1716. Hugh Browne probably succeeded him in or before 1732, and remained to 1755. Edward Wills began in 1756, a pluralist, holding Cumwhitton with Hayton, and was buried in 1804". Edward Wills was not the only p. curate of Hayton who was a pluralist. Christopher Rickerby must have been either the rector of Castle Carrock or his son the p. curate of Cumrew; and George Hodgson—whose bad ink, by the way, but not very bad writing, may be seen in Cumrew register, in which, when occasionally taking duty for Mr Calvert, he wrote and signed the memoranda of burials in woollen—was vicar of Ainstable from 1680 to 1737.

This register, alone among the registers in Brampton deanery, is extant from a time earlier than the Restoration; but, unlike most of the pre-Restoration registers, it does not contain a single trace of the changes in registration ordered by the Barebones Parliament. Nor can any indication be detected in its pages of disturbance arising from the Civil Wars and Commonwealth. It pursues the even tenor of its way just as if no such events had occurred.

The Hayton transcripts begin at 1665, forty three years later than the register, but not on that account to be considered useless. For instance, it was from not finding Robert Bowman's alleged baptismal entry in the transcript that I was led to examine more particularly the entry in the register, with what result has been stated above.

The story of that entry, as told by me vol v of these Transactions,

I have said that I need not here repeat. But I must add to it something which further acquaintance with Brampton deanery registers has brought to light. When the subject of Robert Bowman's alleged abnormal longevity was discussed, at considerable length 30 years ago, in *Notes and Queries*,* great stress was laid on the age of his younger brother Thomas, who died at Grinsdale in 1810 at the reputed age of 99 or as some asserted 103. Robert, buried at Irthington in 1823, was said on the authority of his supposed baptismal entry at Hayton in 1705, to have died at the age of 119. "If Robert Bowman's age be a delusion and a snare", wrote one of his advocates, "then is also the age of his brother Thomas. The two must stand or fall together". To this statement that "the two must stand or fall together" the late Mr Thoms assented. But, referring to the Hayton entry of 1705, he said: "If this be the baptism of tbe centenarian Robert, the same register would in all probability have contained the register of his brother Thomas, said to have been born in 1707 or 1711". That the baptismal register of Thomas is not found at Hayton is not strange, because, as I have shewn, neither is Robert's baptismal register found there. But what is strange is this, that, whereas it was stated that "after searching the registers of four adjacent parishes no entry of any kind has turned up to shew that any person of the same christian name and surname" as Robert Bowman "has been baptized at a later date, *i.e.* within a reasonable time", it does not seem to have occurred to any of the searchers to examine the register of the adjacent parish of Farlam, in which they would have found

1726 Robert son of John Bowman of Low Bow Bank bapt October 23

1728 Thomas son of John Bowman of Low Bow Bank bapt July 7.

These seem to fulfil the requirements of the case, especially when we bear in mind that Robert Bowman named his eldest son John, presumably in accordance with the Cumberland custom of naming an eldest son after his paternal grandfather; from which it appears, on hypothesis of these Farlam entries relating to the reputed centenarian and his brother, that Robert died aged 97, and Thomas 82.

IRTHINGTON.

John Topping, Vicar:—"No. I (bound), baptisms, burials, and marriages, 1704-1723, imperfect between 1723 to 1732. No. II (bound), baptisms, burials, and marriages, 1732-1812".

* For report of which see *Longevity of Man* by W. J. Thoms, pp. 193-207.

No.

No. I, the leaves of which are of paper, is now "imperfect", not only "between 1723 to 1732", having also a gap, due to loss of leaves, from May 17, 1715, to January 2, 1719/20. The imperfection "between 1723 to 1732" is a gap, due to the same cause, from 1723 to 1729. From 1729 to 1732 there is nothing missing. The leaves are now all loose from the leathern cover, which still remains. They are not of equal size, those from 1729 to 1732 being longer and broader than those from 1704 to 1723. The inference is that the leaves from 1704 to 1723, and probably to 1729, belonged to a book which began, perhaps far back, in the 17th century, but had lost most of its leaves when Mr Topping sent in his return in 1832. A few interpolated entries, dated 1691, 1692, and 1700, indicate that the loss of earlier leaves than 1704 occurred not long after that date. A note dated April 6, 1729, says: "This Register book was bought att the charge of the Parish of Irthington, price 7 shillings"; and in the churchwardens' account "for the year ending Easter 1729" there is this item, "Paid for a register 10 shillings". These two memoranda probably refer to the same book; but to what book? The few leaves, containing the entries from 1729 to 1732, cannot be regarded as a book, costing even 7 shillings. I suggest that the book bought in 1729 was not used until 1732, and that the section of paper leaves used during that period was at some subsequent time sewn into the old book, where Mr Topping found them in 1832, since which time it, as well as the earlier leaves, have become loose from the cover. They are so frayed all round the edges that it would be difficult to bind them; but, with the example of the Hayton register before us, it cannot be regarded as impossible. The vicar from 1692 to 1723 was John Gosling. There is nothing to complain of in his writing. But his Latin was peculiar, *e.g.* "nupciated" for "married".

The book bought in 1729 I take to be Mr Topping's No. II, which is of parchment, and complete as far as its contents are concerned, but in need of repair, as some of its sections are becoming loose. Mr Topping's description of it is very inaccurate. Its marriage entries, as one would expect to find, cease at the end of the year 1753; and its baptismal and burial entries both end in October 1783, the book being then full. The three departments of registration in this book are kept separate, except from 1763 to 1771, when the events are entered as they occurred. The writing in those years (1763-1771) is that of William Townley, curate to John Stamper, who also held Walton. Mr Townley's handwriting is very familiar to me, as he had previously been curate of Brampton, and from 1775 to 1785 was p. curate of Lanercost and Farlam, in each of which parishes he

he posted up the registers with great care and neatness, though crowding the entries too closely together, and too much addicted to flourishing of capital letters. The Irthington vicars during the period of No. II were Matthew Wilkinson 1731-1745, James Farish (1745-1763) who was also rector of Bewcastle, and John Stamper who held Irthington and Walton 48 years.

No. III, which Mr Topping seems not to have noticed, or at all events did not report, contains baptisms and burials from 1783 to 1812.

No. IV, also unreported by Mr Topping, is the separate book for marriages ordered by Lord Hardwicke's Act, but not one of the authorised books. It is of the same kind as the separate marriage registers for 1754-1812 at Castle Carrock and Cumrew, but somewhat larger.

An important person in Irthington during the latter half of last century was one Lachlan Murray, of whose antecedents nothing was ever known on this side of the border beyond the fact of his having come from Scotland with Prince Charlie's army in 1745; for he was a mysterious man and very reserved about his private history. Whether he left the army during the siege of Carlisle, or during the retreat from Derby, certain it is he did not return to Scotland, but settled himself at Irthington, where he kept a school, taught land-surveying and the classics, became parish clerk, was twice married, and died in 1801, aged 80 years. The worst thing known about him is that he could not, at all events did not, prevent his wife (whether the first or second tradition does not specify) who kept a grocer's shop from using the leaves of the parish register as wrappers for tea and tobacco. The authority for these particulars concerning him was the late Mr Thomas Graham, of Beanlands, Irthington, whose grandmother, from whom he heard the story, died in 1838, aged 95. Mr Graham, whose fore-elders, alternating all the way down as Thomas and David, had owned Beanlands (now owned by his son) since 1607, often proved himself an invaluable depository of local tradition.

Other names occurring in the register from its earliest extant pages to the present time are Hetherington, Law, and Wannop.

The transcripts begin at 1669; and down to 1704, when the register begins, 17 are missing. Thence to 1714 seven are missing. But from 1714 to 1729 only one (1728) is missing, so that both the gaps in the register, except for the year 1728, can be filled.

LANERCOST.

Geo Gilbanks, P. Curate:—"Nos. I—IV, baptisms & burials, 1684-1812, marriages 1684-1753. Nos V & VI marriages 1754-1812".

Whellan

Whellan (p 685) :—"The parish registers commence in 1644".

Bishop Nicolson (p 57) :—"There's no register book (either here or at Walton) of anything done in the parish before Mr Dickenson's comeing among 'em, which was about Twenty years agoe".

Mr Dickenson was p. curate of Lanercost and Walton from 1681 to 1724. That no register was kept here before his time is unlikely; nor need we understand Bishop Nicolson, who visited Lanercost in 1703, as meaning to state more than that no such earlier register book was extant in 1703.

The oldest existing book begins, not in 1644 as stated by Whellan, but in 1684 as reported by Mr Gilbanks; who, however, failed to observe that only the baptismal entries begin in 1684, the marriage entries not begining till 1687, and the burial entries not till 1689.

The transcripts begin at 1666. Some of them for the period 1666-1689 are missing; but those for the years 1666-7-8, 70, 74, 76-7, 82, 84, 86, and 88, are extant, each containing baptisms, burials, and marriages.

The churchwardens for the year ended March 24, 1684/5, in their answers to the bishop's inquiries, say: "We have a register book of parchment in which are set down the names of all persons baptized, married, and buried". This cannot be the book (No. I) now extant, which is a paper book, containing for the first few years no entries of marriages and burials, and headed "A true Register of the names of children baptized for Leonard Coast p'ish 1684", as if originally intended only for baptisms. Moreover down to 1711 it is manifestly a copy.

From the foregoing data I draw the following conclusions, which the reader may take for what he thinks them to be worth, *viz*: that in 1681 Mr Dickenson found here a book, which had been used by his predecessors, and himself used it to 1684 for all purposes, thence to 1687 only for burials and marriages, and thence to 1689 only for burials; meanwhile in 1684 he procured a "parchment book", erroneously reported by the churchwardens as "containing baptisms, burials, and marriages", which at first he used only for baptisms, but later on for all purposes; that in 1711, the old book having disappeared, and the new parchment book being regarded, for whatever reason, unsatisfactory, he procured the existing paper book, into which he copied, or caused to be copied, all the entries from the parchment book. On which points the Walton register, presently to be dealt with, will throw further light.

Whellan is the only county historian who gives a list of the Lanercost p. curates, and that a very imperfect one, beginning with G Story, licensed in 1746. I therefore subjoin the names of some of Mr

Mr Story's predecessors, recovered from the register and other sources. Samuel Constantyne signs the transcript of 1666, and William Birkett that of 1668. Bishop Nicolson's unpublished diary supplies Thomas Bell licensed in 1679, and Wm Dickenson licensed in 1681, who died in 1724. Anthony Wilton, who signs the transcripts in 1726 and 1728, was succeeded in 1730 by Thomas Fawcett, who, as also Bell and Dickenson, held Walton with Lanercost. Anthony Wilton from 1722 to 1731 was rector of Kirklinton, and perhaps p. curate of Walton. Whether Fawcett continued to hold Walton when Farlam and Over Denton were added to his charge of Lanercost I have not yet been able to ascertain; nor whether Constantyne and Birkett held any other benefice with Lanercost. George Cowper "curate" signs the transcript of 1667.

Farlam and Over Denton were held with Lanercost by Fawcett's successors down to 1845. Lanercost, to this day a very large parish, included in those times what is now the ecclesiastical parish of Gilsland. The total area then of the parishes under their charge was 44321 acres. The former prevalence of plurality in this deanery was doubtless due to the poverty of the livings.

The form (Leonard Coast) in which the name of the parish appears in the heading to the oldest existing register is one of many variations of it in the early register and transcripts, due to the liberty of spelling exercised in those days. But in the Lanercost chartulary from the earliest times the name occurs as now spelt.

The register shews that two names, Tweddle and Robson, once predominated in the parish to a remarkable degree. Tweddle, though to a less extent, still abounds here; but Robson has dwindled to a single representative. Of other old names Barnfather, Burtholme, and Harding, remain in diminished numbers. Crowe, formerly well represented, has entirely disappeared.

In the answers to the Articles of Inquiry for 1666 we get the following piece of information concerning the educational status of the parish: "Parish Clerke or Schoolmaster we have none but a young boy". A few years later the churchwardens were much exercised with persons "refusing to come to church", whom they indiscriminately style "papists or nonconformists" and sometimes "recusants" or "ffanatics".

I may here mention that, while rector (1885-1890) of Newton Reigny, I was permitted by the late episcopal registrar to arrange the transcripts of that parish, that they might be bound in a volume by Messrs Thurnam; and Mr G Howard (now Lord Carlisle), on my telling him what I had done, agreed to pay the cost of binding the Lanercost transcripts. The same work has been done for four other

other parishes, Bishop Goodwin paying for the binding of Dalston and Stanwix transcripts, the late Miss Hill of Castle Bank for those of Appleby, and the parishioners of Aspatria for their own. From the Lanercost transcripts I have now copied all the extant entries from 1666 to 1689, and the names of the churchwardens down to 1812, into a book which I have placed in the parish chest. The Newton Reigny register does not contain any burial entry from 1679 to 1711, the period of "burying in woollen". They were doubtless registered in a separate book, which has been lost. But I recovered them from the transcripts at Carlisle. For a similar recovery from the Brampton transcripts see *ante*, p. 214.

STAPLETON.

J Hope, Curate:—"No. I (bound), baptisms, burials, and marriages, April 11, 1725, to April 18, 1771, imperfect between July 29, 1723, and February 27, 1732. No. II (bound), baptisms and burials 1771-1813, perfect. No. III marriages 1771-1813".

Whellan (p 693):—"The parish register commences in 1728, and continues to the present time, but there is a deficiency for three or four years previous to 1738".

Mr Hope, who made the return in 1832, was for more than 20 years curate to the non-resident rector, Thomas Pattinson, and succeeded him as rector in 1834.

His return requires explanation; for how could a register book be described as imperfect before it begins? The register, instead of explaining the return, makes it more difficult to understand; for the oldest existing book, which seems not to have lost any of its leaves, does not begin until February 27, 1732, and continues to June 16, 1782. The explanation of these discrepancies between the register and Mr Hope's return is supplied by the following note subjoined to a copy of the register: "I, John Hope, curate of the parish of Stapleton, do declare that the writing hereto annexed, purporting to be a copy of the Parish Register of the said parish from the 11th of April 1725 to the 18th of April 1771, contains all the entries of Births, Marriages, and Burials, contained in the said Register, and which remain legible at the present time, and that no error is designedly contained in the same. Witness my hand this 17th day of June 1825". There must then have been extant in 1825 the remnant, perhaps loose leaves, of an old book which ended at 1732, the earliest remaining leaves of which (1723 & 1724) were in such a mutilated condition that Mr. Hope did not think it worth while to copy any entries previous to 1725; and in 1832, when sending in his return

return, it was his copy (1725-1771) and not the original that he reported as No. 1. This copy, beautifully written in a "bound" book, with a line ruled above and below each entry, must have cost Mr. Hope a deal of time and trouble; and perhaps he or one of his successors thought that it rendered the loose leaves of 1723-1732 not worth preserving. Anyhow they have disappeared.

The original book (1732-1782) is now in a very precarious condition, and should be rebound, that it may not go the way of the loose leaves of 1723-1732, and of the earlier leaves of the book to which they belonged. That whatever book was in use during the last 30 years of the 17th century and the first 14 years of the 18th was likely to be in danger of falling to pieces will easily be imagined by any one who has read Bishop Nicolson's report on Stapleton church, which he visited in 1703. Referring to the then rector, Richard Culcheth, he says: "His father & he have kept this Liveing many years, and are answerable for all its deficiencies" (*Miscellany Accounts*, p. 54). The father occurs in the county histories, without date of his institution, as "William Culcheth ——"; but the period of his incumbency is approximately indicated by his signature to the transcripts from 1669 to 1683. He resigned in favour of his son Richard, who was rector of Stapleton from 1683 to 1714. Bishop Nicolson in 1703 found in Stapleton church "not one pane of glass in any of the windows, no Reading-Desk, nor did they ever hear that they had a Bell, only some few scraps of the Common-prayer book, and an insufferably torn Bible of the old Translation, no Surplice to be found, nor did ever any such thing (as far as any one present could remember) belong to the Church" (*ib*). The register was not likely to be in any better condition.

The rector who succeeded Richard Culcheth in 1714 had a long innings, the end of which is thus recorded in the register: "The Revd James Jackson, Rector of Stapleton, was buried 29th February 1771 (aged 83 Gentleman)". Whether he ever posted up the register himself I cannot say. But down to 1739, judging from a signature on the flyleaf, I think it was posted up by "John Richardson, parish clerk and schoolmaster". In 1771 a new rector appears on the scene, announcing himself thus: "Be it remembered that on the 17th of July I William Graham late curate of Kirkandrews on Esk was presented to the Rectory of Stapleton by R Graham clerk M.A. Lord of the Manor of Solport". It was not until November 9 that Mr Graham took the register in hand, and proved himself a very efficient registrar. He was a scholarly man, a translator of Virgil's Eclogues; for an interesting account of whom see Hutchinson, vol ii, p. 562.

It

It is to be noticed that Mr Hope reported his copy, which he called No. I, as containing marriages to 1771. This is also true of the original, as no separate book for marriages was procured in 1754. But neither in 1771 was a separate book procured for marriages; which, however, from 1771 to 1778, entered in accordance with the form prescribed in 1754, are relegated to a separate place in the original, in which also are contained the baptisms and burials from 1771 to 1778, kept apart after 1773 in accordance with an injunction thus recorded in the register: "1773, June 16, The General Chapter at Carlisle, when it was enjoined that the Registers of Burials & Christnings should be kept separate and apart from each other as in the following pages".

The predominant clan in Stapleton in the last century, as shewn by the register, were the Forresters; and the Elizabethan register, had it been now extant, would doubtless have shewn that they had the same predominance in the 17th century and earlier. "The chancel", says Hutchinson (ii, 560-1), speaking of the old church, since taken down and rebuilt in 1830, "is large in proportion to the church, and seems to have been designed as a burial place for the Forresters of Stonegarthside, dated 1598". They are still represented in the parish, some of them abbreviated into Forster. Other old Stapleton names are Armstrong, Carruthers, Gillespie, Graham, Kennedy, Lamb, Moscrop, Musgrave, Nixon, Storey, and Telford, all of which but the last three are still represented here.

The transcripts begin at 1665. But down to 1723, when Mr Hope's copy of the register begins, more than half of them are missing.

The presentments often complain of "clandestine marriages without banns or licence"; also of the prevalence of Quakerism, *e.g.*, "1667 manie in Solbert quarter are more ready to go to heare the Quakers than to come to church, the Quakers meeting place being now at Parkrigge". Quakers are not mentioned in the presentments from any other parish in this deanery. Perhaps they were mostly relegated by churchwardens to the general category of "phanaticks".

WALTON.

"No. I, baptisms and burials 1684-1813. No. II, banns & marriages 1754-1813".

Whoever forwarded the return in 1832, besides omitting to sign his name to it, omitted also to examine attentively the first volume of the register, or he would have seen that down to 1753 it records marriages as well as baptisms and burials.

The

The marriage entries, however, as at Lanercost, do not begin till 1687, and the burials not till 1689. Both of these registers, be it noticed, begin at 1684; and the Walton register, like the Lanercost, is manifestly a copy down to 1711. On its cover is a note stating that "this book was bought March ye 15th, 1711"; and doubtless the Lanercost book was bought at the same time. We have seen that in 1684-5 the Lanercost churchwardens reported "a register book of parchment in which are set down the names of all persons baptized, married, and buried". In like manner the Walton churchwardens in 1684-5 report "a register book of parchment wherein we have sett down the names of all persons baptized maryed and buryed with a transcript thereof caryed every year into the Bishopp's Register". What I have said about the Lanercost book or books of earlier date than 1711 applies equally to the old Walton book or books. But I have now to suggest that whatever register book was used at Walton or Lanercost before Mr Dickenson's time, and for some years after his coming, was common to the two parishes. The Lanercost transcript for 1668-9 is headed "A true note of all ye persons baptized married and buried within ye parish of Leonnardcost and Walton from September ye 12 (68) till May ye 6 (69)"; for 1682-3 "a true note of the Register book of Abbey & Walton"; and for 1686-7 "A note of the Register Booke of Walton p'ish and Leonardcost". It is true that in 1682-3 and 1686-7 the entries from the two parishes are not mixed as in 1668-9, and that in other years there is no such heading as is above noticed. But the p. curate may usually have sorted the entries for the transcripts, while occasionally giving in the heading an incidental sign that there was only one register book. This arrangement, I suppose, was at last found to be inconvenient, and two new books were procured in 1711, into which the entries from 1684 to 1711, properly sorted, were forthwith copied.

The p. curate of both parishes from 1681 to 1724 was Mr Dickenson, who seems to have resided at Walton, as both he and his wife were buried there. Of his predecessor T Bell, and his successors Anthony Wilton and T Fawcett, who all held Lanercost with Walton, I have already spoken.

Whellan alone gives a list of Walton p. curates, which *more suo* is a very meagre list, beginning with "Stamper —", and next to him "T Ireland 1804". Mr Stamper, as we have seen, also held Irthington, to which he was instituted in 1763.

In one matter the nameless p. curate who wrote the Walton return in 1832 deserves commendation. His is the only return from this deanery which mentions "banns"; which the Parish Registers

Abstract

Abstract excludes from its summary of the Walton return. Too often, when search is made for a marriage entry, the banns book is overlooked. But suppose a marriage certificate wanted, and only the bridegroom's parish known to the searcher. A case in point happened to me only a few months ago. Some one wrote to me asking for a certificate of the marriage of a man known to have lived and died in Lanercost. My correspondent did not know the wife's name or parish. I did not find the marriage in Lanercost register; but the banns book, revealing the wife's maiden name and parish, enabled me to specify the church in which the marriage must have been solemnized. And I soon received a letter stating that the required certificate had been obtained.

There is a local tradition that Walton was anciently part of the parish of Lanercost. But we learn from the Lanercost chartulary that before the foundation of Lanercost priory Walton was a rectory. It was by consent of Enoc, rector of Walton, that Gilmor, the Celtic lord of Gilsland, erected a chapel of wickerwork at Triermain, which place, now in Lanercost parish, must then have been in Walton parish. Enoc's successor as rector of Walton was one Thomas, during whose incumbency, in or about 1169, Robert de Vaux, the second Norman lord of Gilsland, founded the priory. Thomas became a canon of the priory, to which Walton rectory was forthwith appropriated, and its church was served from the priory until the dissolution, when its revenues with the rest of the priory possessions were seized by the king. Triermain, then, having been anciently in Walton parish, and there being nothing in the chartulary to shew that before the foundation of the priory there was any parish church of Lanercost, it is not unreasonable to infer that part of is now the ecclesiastical parish of Lanercost was included in Walton parish; on which subject, if space permitted, more might be said.

I have, as I expected, found it not easy to confine this paper within the space at my disposal, especially when dealing with the register with which I am best acquainted. More than twenty years have come and gone since the editor of these Transactions asked me to contribute a paper on Brampton Parish Register. Whereupon I carefully studied the Brampton register, with the result that I found in its pages matter enough for half a dozen lectures to the parishioners on "Bygone Brampton". But to this day the paper for the Transactions remains unwritten;

written; for what I have now written is but a fragment of the story of Brampton parish register. I am grateful however to our editor for having started me on a line of investigation which has been to me ever since an unfailing source of interest.

I have only to add that, while collecting the materials for the foregoing paper, nothing has more strongly impressed me than (1) the need of repair or rebinding of the older books, which in some cases has recently been attended to in this deanery, but in other cases, both here and in other deaneries, should forthwith be taken in hand, (2) the need of fire-proof safes for proper custody of the registers, which, when kept in the old wooden chests or in the iron chests ordered by Rose's Act in 1812, are in greater danger of destruction by fire than if there were no chest at all, (3) the desirableness of supplementing the registers from the transcripts, and of binding the transcripts, and (4) the importance of custodians of parish registers making themselves acquainted with their contents, seeing how incorrect were some of the returns made in 1832, and the information supplied to Whellan by some of the incumbents in 1860.

Addendum, p. 223, line 33: after "Erasmus Dryden" supply: "who was ancest r of the poet Dryden" (Hutchinson, vol. i, p. 177).

ART. XV.—*Comparative View of Dimensions of the Vallum in Cumberland.* By MRS. HODGSON, Newby Grange.

WHILST trying, at Mr. Haverfield's suggestion, to set down the dimensions of the Vallum in Cumberland from the surveys made by my husband, I have been met by two serious difficulties. First, the determining what point in each slope to regard as intersecting the line of original surface, and second, in the sections, to decide from the present appearance of the upcast what was the original width of the mounds. It is frequently evident that the upcast has slid down from its original position, and falling on a turf-covered "berm" has produced an extension of the "black line" beyond the mounds. It is probable that another person taking the measures might take them differently. The only thing to be said is that one person taking all the measures will probably make the same sort of mistakes in each, so that they may still be useful for purposes of comparison.

I notice three principal types of profile, shown as A, B, and C, in my diagram. (Mr. Haverfield, on p. 454 of the Report includes the Brunstock section in type A.* But I have marked it as A^1 because if so read it has a berm between the inner mound and the ditch, which is not the case with Dr. Bruce's profile). I have only seen A in Cumberland at or near Appletree. Indeed, but for what I have been told of the small inner mound as appearing in Northumberland, I should regard A as a purely accidental form of B, and even now, after studying the Appletree section, I am disposed to think that this mound may be the result of occasional cleanings out of the ditch. The upcast

* These Transactions, vol. xiii, pp. 453-469.

mixed

was mixed, and very different from that in the two prinicipal mounds. I write subject to correction, for I have only this one example to go by.

So far as I have seen, the profile A or B is adopted on solid ground, and the profile C only where the ground is soft and would hardly have borne the weight of a single large mound. It will be seen that in profile C the ditch is generally smaller, and the whole earthwork narrower than in profile B.

Gilsland seems to me wholly exceptional, not only in having stone cores, but in the dimensions and plan of the works. The north mound or mounds are on the edge of a piece of high ground, the ditch lying partly in a natural depression, and both mounds and ditch run down a steep slope eastwards. The south mound can be traced when the observer is at a distance, but has been much destroyed in making the school-yard, etc. The north mound is extremely small. In the lower trench (No. 2) no trace of an outer north mound is visible on the surface, but a second and smaller stone core was found in cutting the trench, so that it may once have existed.*

At Hare Hill my husband saw traces of an outer south mound, but part of it was in a wood which prevented the levels being taken.

The plates, illustrating Mr. Haverfields's Reports in Art. xxxix, vol. xiii. of these Transactions and Art. x. of the present volume, will explain the measurements of the sections. The diagrams and tables of dimensions referred to in this paper will be found overleaf pp. 246-251.

* See these Transactions, vol. xiii, p. 468.

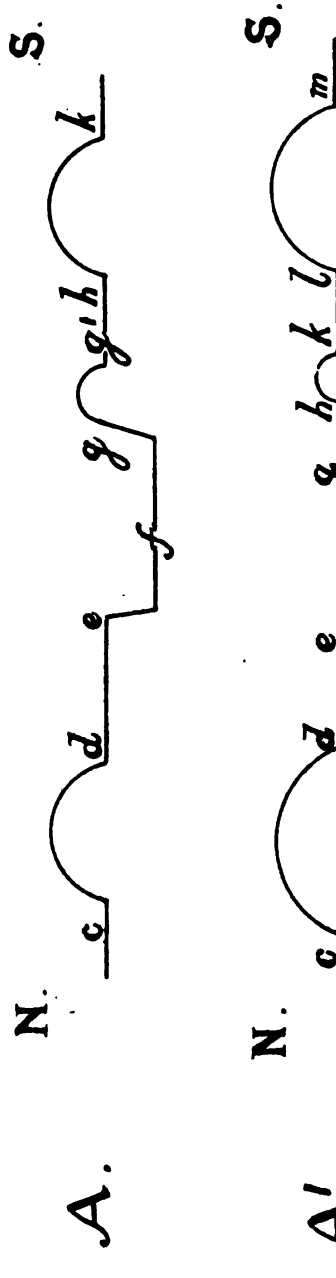
TYPES OF PROFILE OF VALLUM. Diagrammatic only, not to any scale.

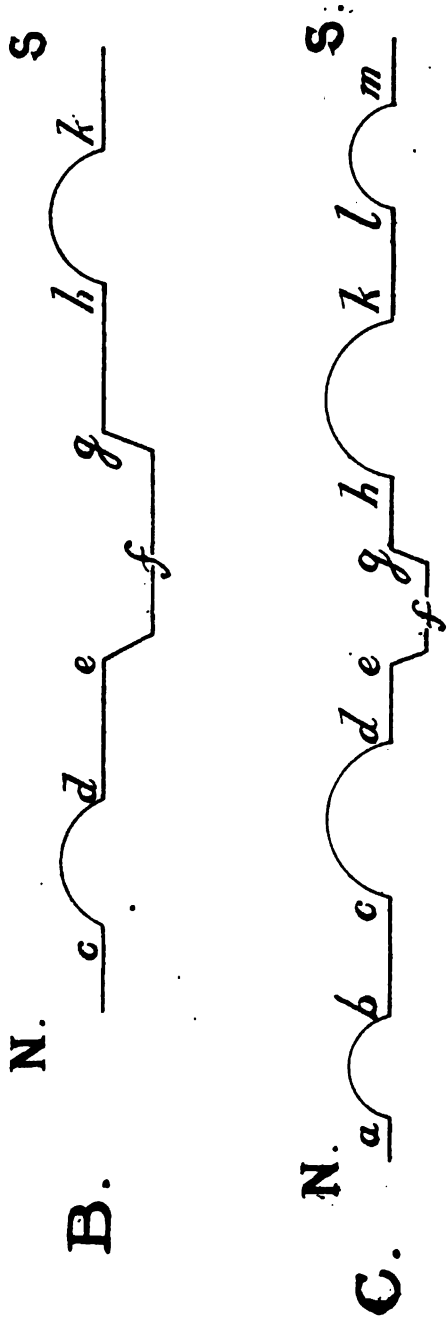
A is the profile given by Dr. Bruce (The Roman Wall, original edition, p. 52.)

When a section was cut the "black line" of ancient surface is taken as the "natural surface," and other measurements are from various indications in the soil.

In all other cases the present surface is measured, the distances along slopes being reduced to horizontal.

References in column of names are to Maps accompanying Reports of the Cumberland Excavation Committee 1894 and 1895. These Transactions, vol. xiii, pp. 453-469, xiv, pp. 185-193. Distances in feet.




S.
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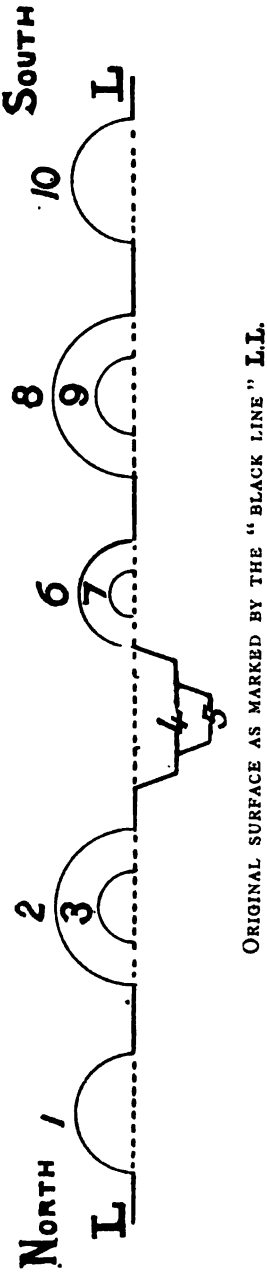
	Type of Profile.	*a* to *b*.	*b* to *c*.	*c* to *d*.	*d* to *e*.	*e* to *f*. Axis of ditch of the Vallum.	*f* to *g*.	*g* to g^1.	*g* to *h*.	*h* to *k*.	*k* to *l*.	*l* to *m*.	Total North to South *n* to *s*.
Gilsland No. 2	B			15		Not	measu	red					
do. section	C?	3	7	9		Not	cut						
Gilsland No. 1	B			24		Not	measu	red					
do. section	B			18½		Not	cut.	North	end b	roken	by pav	ement	
Appletree	A			43	15	19	18	8	g^1 to h 14	31			148
do. section	A			30	20	15	25	3	g^1 to h 15	25			133
Combe Crags.....	B			55	0	21	22		g to h 0	70			168
Hare Hill	B & C?			40	10	13	6		0	30	partly	in wood	
Bleatarn No. 14	B	Quarry to the North has encroached on the Northern Mound here.		40	0	11	11		0	52			114
do. No. 13	B			42	0	7	8	Not	measu	red			
do. section (E).....	B			39	0?	9	6	Not	cut				
do. No. 12	B			42	0	7	8		0	56			113
do. No. 11 ..	B			43	0	7½	7½		0	Not	measu	red	

do. No. 10	B	Quarry here.		40	0	9	8		0	56			113
do. No. 9	B			46	0	14	14		0	56 ?			130
do. No. 8	B			Lands lip across ditch prevents measures									140
do. No. 7	B			56	0	16	16		0	54			142
do. No. 6	B			50	0	9½	7½		0	53			120
do. No. 5	B & C			53	0	6½	4½		0	24	0	32	120
do. No. 4	C	31	0	21	0	6	6		0	26	0	27	117
do. No. 3	C	27	0	20	0	5	4½		0	28½	0	24	109
do. No. 2	C	22½	0	19	0	5½	3		0	29	0	25	104
do. No. 1.	C	29	0	24	0	2	2		0	27	0	22	106
do. section (A).....	C	14	11	14	4	4	8		6	16	4	17	98
White Moss	C	21	13	17	0	5	2		0	27	14	15	114
do. section	C	14	14	14	5½	2	3		4½	19	?	?	76 ?
Brunstock	B			60	0	20	20		0	70			170
do. section	A[1]			35	12	15	17		18	8	4	16	125
do. do. read as	B			35	12	15	17		18	28			125

DIAGRAMMATIC COMBINATION OF THE TYPES OF PROFILE.

1.—Summit of outer North mound.
2.—Summit of main North mound.
3.—Summit of "grey ridge" in North mound.
4.—Bottom of ditch at present surface.
5.—Bottom of ditch as constructed.

6.—Summit of small inner mound.
7.—Summit of small inner "grey ridge."
8.—Summit of main South mound.
9.—Summit of "grey ridge" in South mound.
10.—Summit of outer South mound.



ORIGINAL SURFACE AS MARKED BY THE "BLACK LINE" L.L.

VERTICAL MEASUREMENTS IN FEET AND INCHES FROM THE "BLACK LINE" OF ORIGINAL SURFACE.
The sign + indicates above black line, — below it in columns 4 and 5.

	Type of Profile	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Gilsland No. 2	C ?	1ft. 2in.	2ft. 2in.	1ft. 6in.	Not	cut beyond	3.				
do. No. 1	B		2ft. 9in.	2ft. 8in.	Not	cut					
Appletree	A		5ft. 6in.	none	— 7ft. 0in.	Not cut	1ft. 9in.	none	4ft. 6in.	none	
Bleatarn (E on map)	B		2ft. 6in.	none	0	—10ft. 6in.			2ft. 6in.	none	
do. (D on map)	B		2ft. 2in.	none	— 1ft. 3in.				1ft. 7in.	none	
do. (A on map)	C	2ft. 5in.	2ft. 3in.	1ft. 6in.	+ 6ft. 4in.				3ft. 0in.	1ft. 6in.	3ft. 2in.
White Moss	C	1ft. 3in.	4ft. 0in.	1ft. 7in.	+ 1ft. 6in.				3ft. 9in.	1ft. 6in.	2ft. 6in.
Brunstock	A 1		2ft. 3in.	1ft. 6in.	+ 0ft. 6in.	—5ft. 0in.		1ft. 0in	2ft. 0in.	1ft. 5in.	

The measurements in Bleatarn (E) are very uncertain.

ERRATA.

Page 31, line 5. William Dunn died in his 95th, not 65th year.

Page 38. Thomas Nicolson is still alive and in business at Halifax, not Leeds: he was recently in Whitehaven on a visit.

Page 38. Account of Wilson Ledger, 3rd line, date 1821, should be 1826.

Page 156. MS. (XVIII CENTURY) EPISTLES OF EARLY FRIENDS. Mr. Isaac Sharpe, Secretary to the Society of Friends, in a letter to the author since the article was in print, identifies *J. Stafe* with *John Scafe*, so written in the ancient endorsement of a letter in possession of the Society, which is an early copy, or possibly the original, of No. 16 in the MS. volume. Another letter in the archives, Salthouse's original of 23-xii-1660, shows, though the difference between c and t is somewhat obscure, that the name should be read *Scafe*. The Scaifes were a family of Friends near Appleby.

Page 194. For an early instance of the spelling of Bleatarn, viz., "Blettarne" in 1698 and 1706 see p. 217. In 1698 Thomas Hetherington is described in the Castle Carrock register, as "laird of Blettarne in Irthington," showing that the house and estate must then have been reckoned important, and that Thomas Hetherington owned it.

In Memoriam.

BY the sudden death on Thursday March 5th, 1896, of the Rev. Henry Whitehead, M.A., Vicar of Lanercost, the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society has not only been deprived of one of the most valued members of its Council, but has also lost the services of one of the most painstaking and accurate contributors to the pages of its Transactions: and the writer of these lines has to lament the loss of an ever ready and helpful colleague, and of a dear friend.

Henry Whitehead was born in the Isle of Thanet, and was in his 70th year when he died. He was educated at Lincoln College, Oxford, B.A. 1850, M.A. 1854: was ordained deacon in 1851, and priest in 1852 by the Bishop of London. His first curacy was at St. Luke, Berwick Street (1851 to 1856); he was there during the terrible outbreak of cholera in that parish in 1853, when 700 people died in ten days within a radius of a hundred yards from the Parish Church. During that terrible time, he was not only foremost in supplying the material and spiritual needs of the sick and dying, but he conceived and carried out the idea of tracing this outbreak to its source. He enquired into and made notes of every single one of these 700 cases, and found that every patient had drunk the water from the famous Broad Street pump, and that there was not a death among those who did not use it, or had boiled it before use. He completed his circle of

proof by finding that there was a leakage into the Broad Street well from the house opposite, where a case of choleraic diarrhœa had been registered before the outbreak of cholera. He wrote an account of this patient and pertinacious investigation, for which he was publicly thanked by eminent physicians engaged in the same enquiry, and it appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* soon afterwards. After leaving St. Luke in 1856, Mr. Whitehead held six other curacies in or about London, until in 1874 he was presented to the vicarage of Brampton in Cumberland. He remained there until 1884, when he accepted the small living of Newlands, Keswick, but in 1885 he was offered by the Bishop of Carlisle and accepted the rectory of Newton Reigny near Penrith. In 1890 the valuable living of Morpeth, in the gift of the Earl of Carlisle, became vacant, and was offered to Mr. Whitehead, who firmly declined it: but he accepted from the Earl of Carlisle the vicarage of Lanercost, vacated by the acceptance of Morpeth by Mr. Bulkeley. There he remained until his sudden death.

This is not the place in which to discuss his parochial work: but in all his north-country parishes he left his mark: at Brampton the parish church was rebuilt during his incumbency: at Newlands the church was reseated in oak: at Newton Reigny the church was restored and the vicarage enlarged: and at Lanercost the long ruined church of Kirkcambeck was rebuilt. In all his parishes he was a centre of intellectual life, and the scientific societies of Brampton and of Penrith owe much to his services on their respective councils as an organiser and a stimulator, and also, in common with many other societies, as a lecturer. He was a member of the

Council of this Society, and some of the most interesting papers in its Transactions are from his pen: he has never yet got the full credit he should have done for the Society's book on Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle: this is due to his firmly refusing to let his name appear on the title page, as co-editor, or at all, except as having done two or three of the deaneries, but he acted as expert adviser throughout, and compiled most part of the valuable appendices. To archæology, prior to his coming into Cumberland, Mr. Whitehead had paid no attention whatever, and his mind was first directed that way by a request from the Editor of these Transactions for a paper on the Brampton Registers: this he promised to do: more than twenty years have elapsed, and that paper has never yet been written. But the study Mr. Whitehead made of the Brampton Registers with that paper in view was the fruitful mother of many papers on kindred subjects, which will be found in these and other Transactions, or are interred in local newspapers and parish magazines. The charm of the man to his archæological friends, and his power as a writer on archæological subjects, consisted in a mathematical facility for putting together and adding up small *indicia* of evidence, (as in the case of the Broad Street pump), combined with a vivid imagination that enabled him to realise the persons he was writing about. Thus out of an old register, Mr. Whitehead could conjure up a 17th century vicar or an 18th century parish clerk, to the life, quite natural and true. One great characteristic of his work was its thoroughness. The principal subjects with which he dealt were Parish Registers, Church Plate, and Church Bells: on these he was more than a mere local authority: but he also devoted much research

to the history of local Nonconformity, of George Fox, a favourite hero of his, and of Brampton in the 1745, and to supposed cases of centenarism, but this last he abandoned, as he found that people did not like having their centenarian relatives cut down to be mere eighties and nineties.

Much of his work went to ephemeral publications, but to the Transactions of this Society he contributed the following papers:—The Milburns of Talkin: Robert Bowman's supposed Baptismal Register: The Transcripts of the Registers in Brampton Deanery: Old Church Plate in Brampton Deanery: Church Bells in the Deanery of Brampton: Church Bells on the Border: Church Bells in Cumberland Ward, parts I. & II.: The Bells of Carlisle Cathedral: Church Goods in Cumberland, 1552: Brampton Presbyterians (17th century): Church Bells of Leath Ward, parts I, II, III, IV.: Keswick Town Clock Bell: Westmorland Parish Registers: and Parish Registers in Brampton Deanery.* Also jointly with Prof. Baldwin Browne, the Monuments in the Choir and Transepts of Lanercost Abbey. To the Transactions of the now defunct Cumberland and Westmorland Association for the Advancement of Literature and Science, he contributed the following papers: Brampton in 1745: and the Monuments of the Nave and Aisle of Lanercost Abbey: a list which by no means does justice to the work he did for the Asso-

* The proofs of this paper were only passed by Mr. Whitehead a few days before his death. In a covering letter he informed the Editor of the work he proposed to do for the Society:—a concluding paper on the Bells of Leath Ward [Renwick, Skelton, and Threlkeld], to be followed by papers on the Bells of Brigham, Cockermouth, Crosthwaite, Distington, and Holm Cultram. These done, he suggested that the rest of the Cumberland Bells, and of the Cumberland Registers should be undertaken by some younger man.

ciation, for he was a frequent lecturer on his own subjects to the various Societies which composed the Association.* To the columns of the local newspapers he contributed many interesting articles, particularly a series of reviews of local printed parish registers, which appeared from time to time in the Carlisle Patriot: the last of these, that on Kirkoswald register, though in type, had not been printed at the time of his death. In all things connected with printing, Mr. Whitehead was most scrupulously accurate, from the verification of quotations down to the placing of the commas, and the elimination of superfluous capitals: fantastic, indeed, some printing offices may have thought him, but he thoroughly understood the work.

He was a constant attendant at the meetings of this Society, and his absence from its gatherings, will be much regretted particularly from those informal ones which succeed those arranged for in the printed programme. Nor can his place as a worker be easily supplied.

---

* The following is a list of some of his lectures:—Hall Marks on Silver Plate: Crosthwaite Churchwardens' Accounts: George Fox, the Quaker: A walk round Brampton: Prince Charles Stuart at Brampton: Crabbe's Poem on Parish Registers: etc., etc. Many of the papers in these Transactions were also utilised as lectures at various places.

APPENDIX

(*See next page*).

APPENDIX.

Reviews of "Printed Parish Registers of Carlisle Diocese," by Rev. H. Whitehead.

Dalston	.....	.....	*Carlisle Patriot*, Aug. 4, 1893.
"	.....	.....	" " Feb. 9, 1894.
Colton	.....	.....	" " April 13, "
Ravenstonedale		.....	" " Feb. 26, "
"		.....	" " Oct. 5, "
"		.....	" " Oct. 26, "
"		.....	" " Nov. 9, "
"		.....	" " Aug. 30, 1895.
Ulverston	.....	.....	" " Nov. 23, 1894.
"	.....	.....	" " Dec. 28, "
Penrith	.....	.....	" " Aug. 17, "
"	.....	.....	" " " 24, "
"	.....	.....	" " Sept. 7, "
Kirkoswald	.....	.....	" " Mar. 20, 1896.

"Westmorland Parish Registers."

No. I.	.....	.....	*Penrith Observer*, Dec. 5, 1893.
No. II.	.....	.....	" " " 12, "
No. III.	.....	.....	" " " 22, "

Three long and very valuable papers on the "Crosthwaite Churchwardens' Accounts," printed in April and May, 1886, in the *Keswick Guardian*.

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OF THE

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PART II., VOLUME XIV.

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THE WORSHIPFUL CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, F.S.A., LL.M., M.A.,

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

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ART. XVI.—*Church Bells in Leath Ward, No.* 5. *By the late REV. H. WHITEHEAD, Vicar of Lanercost.

RENWICK.

RENWICK Church was anciently rectorial, but was subsequently appropriated to St. Mary's Abbey, York, and in 1539, on the dissolution of the Abbey, was seized by the King. "In 1578 Queen Elizabeth granted it to Lord Lincoln and Christopher Gowffe, with its appurtenances, excepting the advowson, bells, and lead". (Whellan, p. 619).

How many bells it then had we cannot know for certain, as Renwick is one of the parishes the names of which have been torn off from the Cumberland portion of Edward VI.'s Inventory of Church Goods. But very few Cumberland churches, according to the Inventory, had in 1552 either more or less than two bells. *Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Transactions*, vol. viii., pp. 186-204.

The terrier of 1749, signed by "W. Wilkinson, curate", reports "two bells with their stocks thought to weigh about 12 stone"; which estimate of their weight, perhaps formed when they were taken down during the re-building of the church in 1733, is, as will presently appear, wide of the mark.

Whellan (A.D. 1860) says (p. 619): "There are two bells, supposed to be very ancient, one of which bears the

* This paper concludes the Bells of Leath Ward, see *ante p.* 256 *n.* The account of the Renwick Bells was found in manuscript among Mr. Whitehead's papers after his lamented death: those of Skelton and Threlkeld had already been printed in the *Penrith Observer*, and are reproduced from slips corrected by Mr. Whitehead.

inscription

inscription *Ave Sancta Maria.* He probably had his information from Mr. John Watson, p. curate of Renwick from 1832 to 1866, during whose incumbency (in 1844) the church was again re-built. But whoever supplied the information had incorrectly read the inscription.

In 1893 the late Squire Nicolson, patron of the living, presented the church with a new tenor, from the foundry of Messrs. Taylor, of Loughborough, who report its diameter as 18½ inches, weight 1cwt. 1qr. 4lbs., note B, and inscription *Gloria Deo in Excelsis.*

The inscription on the treble, incorrectly reported by Whellan, is the three first words of the Vulgate version of the angelic salutation :

+ AVE · MARIA · GRACIA.

The omission of the fourth word PLENA is due to the smallness of the bell, round the shoulder of which the inscription runs. The letters are floriated Lombardic, the intervening stop a fleur-de-lis, and the initial stamp a floriated cross in a circle within a square, of precisely the same character as the letters, stop, and cross, on the Cumrew treble, which being a larger bell includes the word PLENA in the angelic salutation. The same cross and lettering, but with three roundlets as intervening stop, are found in the following inscription on the second bell at Dacre :

+ IOHANNES : DE KVRKAM : ME : FECIT.

The Renwick and Cumrew trebles, then, are from the same foundry, though perhaps not quite of the same date, as the Dacre bell. The late Mr. Stahlschmidt, one of the most eminent campanologists of his time, in a letter to the present writer, said he was of opinion that the roundlets were a somewhat earlier form of stop than the fleur-de-lis, and he therefore thought that the Cumrew bell

bell may have been cast by a successor of John de Kirkham. In the same letter he gave the valuable information that the Fabric Rolls of York Minster mention John de Kirkham as a York bellfounder in 1371.

The old Renwick tenor, though superseded by the new Loughborough bell, is still, to the credit of all concerned in the matter, preserved in the vestry, where it can be easily examined. Canon Thornley reports its diameter as 18 inches. Its weight, therefore, is about 1cwt. 2qrs.; which in the terrier of 1749 was supposed to be the combined weight ("12 stone") of the two bells. I am also indebted to Canon Thornley for rubbings of their inscriptions, and for the information that they are both long-waisted, which is a sign of antiquity.

The treble I have dealt with above.

The tenor is what is called an "alphabet bell," having the alphabet in Lombardic letters, with the omission of U or V, W, and X, round its shoulder, preceded by a cross identical with that on the treble. The letters also, each of which is on a separate stamp, are of the same character as on the treble. The two bells are therefore from the same foundry, and most likely of the same date. The alphabet, or a portion of it, is found on many bells, *e.g.* on the Bywell treble, Northumberland, on the Houghton-le-Skerne treble, Durham, on several bells in Devonshire, in Rutland, and in other counties. For the alphabet as bell inscription various explanations have been advanced. The late Mr. Ellacombe in his *Devon Church Bells* suggested that it was "probably nothing more than a fancy of the bellfounder to fill up the place usually allotted for a legend, which his employers had not supplied". Such bells, as a rule, "are said to be of great antiquity" (Lukis on *Bells*, p. 30). But they "are also found from the 14th to the 17th century, many of the inscriptions of the 16th and 17th centuries being dated" (*Proceedings of Newcastle Society of Antiquaries*, iv.,

iv., p. 25). The late Mr. T. North said: "It has been suggested that the founders, being desirous not to offend by placing ancient precatory, and therefore often unwelcome inscriptions upon their bells, adopted this plan to escape the difficulty. By it they ornamented their bells with a goodly show of Gothic capitals which could give offence to no one. This may have been the case with the later bells; but the use of the alphabet surely had another origin on the more ancient ones. We find the alphabet or portions of it on encaustic tiles on the floors of churches. It appeared on the top of a Norman font at Severn Stoke in Warwickshire. In the *Pontificale Romanum* the bishop is directed, in the dedication of a church, to write, in the form of a cross, two alphabets, one in Greek and the other in Latin, first from the east to west, and then from north to south. There was clearly some symbolic meaning in the alphabet. Some writers on the subject say the letters represented the beginning and rudiments of sound doctrine, and the simple and pure truths of the Gospel." (*Rutland Church Bells*, p. 80-1). The alphabet in Lombardic letters is also on a very handsome silver-gilt bowl, as well as on its cover, belonging to Studley Church, near Ripon.

The two ancient Renwick bells, even if not cast by John de Kirkham himself, but by a successor, cannot be far short of 500 years old; and what with Henry VIII.'s seizure of the church, Edward VI.'s Commission in 1552-3, Elizabeth's grant in 1578 of most of "the appurtenances" of Renwick Church to Lord Lincoln and Christopher Gowffe, the re-building of the church in 1733 and 1844, and lastly the gift of a new tenor to supersede the alphabet bell, it is a wonder that they have both survived to the present time. But Edward VI.'s commissioners, though enjoined to confiscate all the bells but one of each church, seem from various indications, *e.g.*, the four pre-reformation bells still remaining at Greystoke, two at Burgh-by-Sands, two at Edenhall, two at Distington, two at

Dacre

Dacre, two at Eskdale, two at Waberthwaite, &c., not to have strictly executed their orders, so far as the bells were concerned, probably deterred by fear of offending the parishioners. The same fear may have saved the Renwick bells in 1578; though why bells with inscribed invocations to saints escaped destruction during the Elizabethan crusade against "monuments of superstition" can only be explained on supposition that no one knew what the inscriptions were, which is likely enough, seeing how many custodians of mediæval bells to this day are ignorant of the inscriptions they bear. They probably ran even greater risk during the re-building of the church in 1733 and again in 1844. That they have survived the advent of a new tenor is doubtless due to the increased respect now paid in this diocese, chiefly fostered by the local antiquarian society, to venerable relics of the past, whether ecclesiastical or secular. A few years ago, as might be illustrated by several instances of ancient bells ruthlessly discarded "in part payment" of "a fine steel bell" or a set of "tubular bells," there was in some quarters a lack of sentiment in such matters; and we may welcome the preservation of the ancient Renwick bells as a sign of improved public opinion, and as an example to be followed by all "church restorers".

SKELTON.

Nicolson and Burn, in their history of Cumberland, published in 1777, say:—

The church of Skelton, according to Bishop Nicolson, is dedicated to St. Mary; according to Dr. Todd, to St. Michael. And there seems to be ground for the two different opinions. Upon one of the two bells belonging to this church is an inscription, *Ave* Maria *gratiæ plena;* on the other, *Sancte* Michael *ora pro nobis.* And the difference perhaps may be thus accounted for. When the feast of the dedication of the church (which originally was on the day sacred to the Saint to whom the church was dedicated) happened to be at an

an inconvenient season, as in seedtime or harvest, it became usual to transfer it to the most vacant time in the year, about Michaelmas, when the harvest was got in. And King Hen. 8th's injunctions required all the feasts of dedication to be kept at that season. Hence in many churches, by length of time, St. Michael hath obtained the reputation of the tutelar saint: more churches being supposed to be dedicated to him than to any other saint in the calendar. (N. & B., ii., 386).

On which statement it is to be remarked that, whatever cause there may have been further south, on the ground here alleged, for such transfer of dedication, it would be strange if Michaelmas were selected as likely to be "the most vacant time" in Cumberland. Hutchinson, in 1794, advanced two other hypotheses, suggested by the following entry in Henry VIII.'s Ecclesiastical Survey, commonly called the "Liber Regis":—

Cantaria bte Marie Virginis in Ecclia de Skelton.

He says (vol. i., p. 514):—

It has been conjectured that the uncertainty as to the dedication arose from the method of holding the dedication feast, which might be transfered under the injunctions of Henry VIII. from the summer season to Michaelmas. But the circumstance of the chantry being dedicated to St. Mary gives the probability the other way; and that is strengthened by the dedication of the bells, one being inscribed *Ave Maria gratiæ plena*, the other *Sancte Michael ora pro nobis*; without we conceive the dedication was to St. Michael and St. Mary jointly.

He seems to have supposed that the dedication of the chantry must needs have displaced, or at least have been incorporated with, the dedication of the church. Jefferson. in 1840, follows Nicolson and Burn on the subject of the dedication, quoting them verbatim, except that he speaks of the two ancient bells as *formerly* belonging to the church. (*Leath Ward*, p. 156). Whellan, in 1860, adopting Hutchinson's second hypothesis of a double dedication, says (p. 623):—

Skelton

Skelton church, dedicated to St. Michael and Mary, is an ancient edifice, &c.

Lastly, Canon Venables, in a paper on "Church Dedications in the Diocese of Carlisle," contributed in 1882 to these Transactions (vol. vii, pp. 118—149), reports the Skelton dedication as "double or doubtful"; and referring to Longmarton church, which is dedicated to SS. Margaret and James, he says:—

The double dedication is to be explained by the fact that while the church generally was placed under the patronage of one saint, one of its chantries or aisles had the tutelage of another. . . . The same cause may help us to explain some of the doubtful and contradictory dedications which perplex us in not a few cases. Bacon's "Liber Regis" gives one, the county history of "Burn and Nicolson" another. We know only too well that Bacon's huge quarto is deformed by not a few errors. This, however, is no cause of surprise in a work covering the whole of England and Wales; and, where there is a discrepancy, the authority of the county historians who devoted much care to the subject is preferable. But in some cases this discrepancy is to be accounted for by one giving the name of the church, the other that of the chantry. To determine the true dedication, and to recover the lost dedications, let me venture to recommend to the members of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society an examination of the mediæval wills of the district (*ante*, p. 137).

The hint about the wills is very good advice, the publication in 1893 of the *Testamenta Karleolensia* has made easy to follow. But, as far as the Skelton dedication is concerned, there is still better advice to be given:—"Verify your references". Messrs. Nicolson and Burn, when they undertook to explain away the alleged discrepancy between Bp. Nicolson and Dr. Todd, set on foot an inquiry somewhat akin to the famous question propounded by Charles II. to his courtiers: "Why is a pail of water not increased in weight by the insertion of a fish"? Bishop Nicolson, who visited Skelton in 1704, says (p. 145):—

In

In the Tower there are two pretty good Bells: on the larger whereof is *Sancte Michael* (ye Church's Saint) *ora pro nobis*; and on the lesser, *Ave Maria gracia plena.*

Thus, after all the pains that have been taken to account for the "different opinions" of the bishop and Dr. Todd on the subject of the Skelton dedication, it turns out that those eminent antiquaries were both agreed that "ye church's saint" was S. Michael; *i.e.*, unless the local historians, who misquoted Bp. Nicolson, have also misquoted Dr. Todd, attributing to each the other's opinion. Unfortunately Todd's MS. history of the diocese of Carlisle, to which Nicolson and Burn had access in 1777 (N. & B., vol. i, p. iii), is now missing (*ante* ii, p. 122); but it was probably seen by Browne Willis, who, in 1727, acknowledging his obligation to his "learned friend Dr. Todd" for information on Cumberland matters (*Survey of English Cathedrals*, i, 486), assigns the dedication of Skelton Church to St. Michael.

The two ancient bells are no longer extant. All that can be said, therefore, as to their probable age is that it is evident from their inscriptions that they were of pre-Reformation date. It is also certain that they were the only bells here when Edward VI.'s commissioners reported as belonging to Skelton, "ij prche belles."

In their place are now two bells, each 23½ inches in diameter, and therefore each weighing about 1 cwt 3½ qrs. One of them, from the Whitechapel Foundry, is inscribed, C & G MEAR LONDON FOUNDERS 1844. The other, cracked and disused, bears the initials R.A, with the stamp of a bell between, the date 1717 above, and the word "Wiggan" below. This bell, like the Dalston tenor, dated 1704, the Kirkbampton tenor, dated 1705, and the two Melmerby bells, dated 1715, is from the foundry of the Ashtons of Wigan, for an account of which see *ante* vol. xiii, p. 213-4.

The

The date of the Wigan bell, Skelton, shews that of the two mediæval bells, seen by Bp. Nicolson in 1704, one must have disappeared before 1717. Yet Nicolson and Burn in 1777, and Hutchinson in 1794, neglecting to verify their references, assumed that both the ancient bells were still in the tower. Jefferson, writing in 1840, whilst falling into the opposite mistake of assuming that both had disappeared, incidentally supplies the correction to his statement. He says :—

The two bells now in the tower are modern; one of them bears an inscription in Latin. (*Leath Ward*, p. 161.)

The bell with a Latin inscription was doubtless one of the mediæval pair, and remained until superseded by the Whitechapel bell in 1844. Whellan, to complete the series of mistakes, speaking of Skelton church tower in 1860, says (p. 623) :—

It contains two bells, one of which bears a Latin inscription.

It was not in Whellan's power to quote an inscription which no longer existed. But Jefferson might as well have quoted it, and thereby have let us know which of the two ancient bells it was that survived to his time.

By the way, as to quoting, Nicolson and Burn, as well as Hutchinson, besides misquoting Bishop Nicolson in the matter of the dedication, presumed to correct his Latin by substituting *gratiæ* for *gracia* in the inscription on the "Ave Maria" bell. The bishop, no doubt, was right; since the angelic salutation, when it occurs in bell inscriptions, invariably follows the text of the Vulgate.

Bishop Nicolson had a habit of copying inscriptions; yet, often as he mentions the bells of the churches which he visited, at only two other places besides Skelton, viz.: Edenhall (p. 58) and Penrith (pp. 152-3), did he record the

the bell inscriptions. This may be partly accounted for by the circumstance of most Cumberland church bells, hung in cots on gables, being difficult of access; and, if he did not explore the belfries of such church towers as Greystoke, Dacre, Burgh-by-Sands, Scaleby, Crosthwaite, &c., it could only have been for want of time, as he must have been fully occupied with the amount of work he evidently got through in each parish, and often in more than one parish on the same day. It is well, however, that he found time to copy the legends in the Skelton tower, as he thereby did a twofold service to Cumberland campanology. He has confirmed the probability that in Cumberland none of the church bells were confiscated by Edward VI.'s commissioners. Moreover he has supplied an additional instance of what seems to have been the Cumberland rule of dedicating a bell to the tutelar saint of the church. It was formerly supposed by campanists that such was anciently the rule throughout England. But Mr. Stahlschmidt, in a paper on "Mediæval Bell Inscriptions". (*Antiquary*, vol. xiii., pp. 213-5), has shown cause for believing that it was by no means the rule in the southern counties. Admitting, however, that Cumberland appears to favour the traditional theory, he says (*ib.* p. 215):—

> It would be curious if it should turn out that North and South generally presented contradictory views: it would seem like it at present.

The Cumberland examples, as yet known, in favour of the rule are Aikton, Burgh-by-Sands, Cumrew, Edenhall, Eskdale, Greystoke, Skelton, and Threlkeld. An apparent exception to the rule is Langwathby, where the treble bears the angelic salutation, while the church, according to Bacon, is dedicated to St. Peter. Another apparent exception is Scaleby (*ante* vii., p. 231), where the church

is

is dedicated, according to all book authorities, to "All Saints", and the treble bears the angelic salutation. Mr. John Sutton, of Scaleby, writing to me about twelve years ago, said :—

We were formerly under the impression that the church was dedicated to St. Bartholomew, and the tithes, or Easter offerings, were formerly paid on St. Bartholomew's Day. Latterly, however, it has been attributed to All Saints and St. Mary. How these variations have occurred I cannot say.

The claim for St. Mary was probably originated by some explorer of the belfry. The true dedication is doubtless All Saints. But this does not necessarily establish an exception to the supposed rule of Cumberland bell dedication; for at Scaleby, as also at Langwathby there is a blank treble, which, if of later date than the tenor, may have had a predecessor with dedication identical with that of the church. An unquestionable exception, however, is supplied by Renwick (*ante* p. 259.)

At Skelton there is the usage of the early Sunday morning bell at 9 o'clock.

SKIRWITH.

There are here three bells, cast in 1858, at the Whitechapel foundry, by Mears and Stainbank, to whom I am indebted for the following particulars:

No.	Note.	Diameter.	Cwt.	qr.	lb.
1	D	2ft. 6in.	5	0	5
2	C	2ft. 8in.	6	0	13
3	B♭	2ft. 11in.	7	2	13

Skirwith, a township of Kirkland parish, was constituted

a

a separate ecclesiastical district in 1859. Its church, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, was founded by W. Parker, Esq., of Skirwith Abbey, who also gave the bells.

THRELKELD BELLS.

The Threlkeld church terrier of 1749, written and signed by "Alex: Naughley, Curate", has this entry:—

> Item. Two Bells with their Frames ye greater 15 inches in Diameter at mouth and ye lesser 14 inches on which is this inscription. *Ave Maria gracia plena.*

which entry, as terriers go, is somewhat peculiar. But Alexander Naughley was a peculiar man. Hutchinson says of him:—

> Here he remained fifty-one years, without ever seeking or accepting of any other promotion; for here alone, as he used to say, he was in his element, because his peculiarities did not at all diminish the respect of his parishioners. For many years he added something, but it could never be much, to his church revenue of 12£ a year, by teaching astronomy, navigation, mensuration, and other branches of the mathematics. He was also great in reputation as a classical scholar. In his modes of living he was eccentric and careless beyond example. (*History of Cumberland*, vol. 1, p. 423).

With the peculiarities of his "modes of living" we are not now concerned. But it may be noticed as characteristic of a teacher of mensuration that, whereas the clergy of this diocese were required by Chancellor Waugh to report in the terriers of 1749 the weights of their bells, Mr. Naughley contented himself with reporting the diameters. In so doing he displayed sound judgment. Many a terrier of 1749 contains but a haphazard guess at the weights of the bells. Some altogether shirk the question. The Cumwhitton terrier, as if in protest against any such question

question, says boldly: "We know not their weight". The chancellor himself seems to have discovered that he had made an unreasonable demand, since in the terrier of Caldbeck, of which parish he was rector, he abstained from answering his own question. Mr. Naughley alone had the sagacity to perceive that the best thing to be done under the circumstances was to report the diameters. He was doubtless aware that the weight of a bell might be approximately known from its diameter, but had no bell-founder's catalogue at hand to consult for the rule by which the ratio of weight to diameter was determined. So he furnished information which had not been asked for, but which was really the best answer that could be given to the question proposed by the chancellor. Another piece of information which had not been asked for was supplied by his report of the inscription on the treble. The chancellor, if he read the Threlkeld terrier, must have felt that he would have done well to take counsel with Mr. Naughley as to the questions to be asked. But the majority of the clergy would not have been pleased at being directed to report the inscriptions on their bells, most Cumberland church bells being difficult of access, and ancient inscriptions not always easy to read. Even Bishop Nicolson, zealous and able antiquary though he was, and especially keen after inscriptions, seems to have seldom got to close quarters with the bells. At Threlkeld he could not have had much time to spare, having on the same day (Oct. 9, 1703) to visit "Grisedale." Moreover the bells in his time may have been hung in a gable cot, so that he could only see them from the churchyard. He merely says in his Notes (p. 108):—"They have two little Bells". The church was rebuilt in 1777 (*Whellan* p. 553). It has now a small tower, which however is by no means easy to scale. My own experience of Threlkeld church tower was on this wise. I got as far as the first upper chamber, when immediately I found myself

myself subsiding through the floor, which as soon as I stepped on to it gave way, and I was only saved by the joists from a fall to the basement. From this chamber to the belfry the ascent has to be continued by means of an unattached ladder; but, the ladder being awkward to handle in a very confined place, I failed to adjust it, and had to relinquish my attempt to reach the bells. The then rector, the Rev. J. Brunskill, on another occasion, however, has scaled the tower, measured the diameters of the bells, taken a rubbing of the inscription on the treble, and kindly furnished me with the results of his labours.

The weights we reckon from the diameters as reported by the rector:—

Treble, diameter 17 inches, weight about 1¼ cwt.
Tenor, diameter 19 inches, weight about 1¾ cwt.

These diameters, it will be seen, do not tally with those given by Mr. Naughley. Yet that at least the treble is the same as in 1749 is evident from the fact that round its shoulder, with cross, lettering, and fleur de lis as intervening stops, all of precisely the same character as in the Cumrew treble and the old Renwick tenor, with the letter N reversed as at Cumrew, runs the angelic salutation, viz:—

+ AVE · MARIA · GRACIA · PLENA.

It is therefore a York bell, from the foundry of JOHANNES DE KVRKAM, and about 500 years old.

The tenor is blank, and therefore of very uncertain date. But Mr. Brunskill describes it as seeming older than the treble. Similar blank bells, thought to be very old, are found elsewhere in Cumberland. It is to be hoped that they may some day come under the notice of experts, who

who may be able to confirm or disprove their supposed antiquity.

Meanwhile we may regard the "two little bells" of Threlkeld as characteristic, in number and dimensions, of the bells possessed from time immemorial by many a Cumberland church. Of 111 Cumberland churches, reported on by Edward VI.'s commissioners in 1552, as many as 76 had only two parish bells; and that these with few exceptions were small is to be inferred from the almost total absence of the epithet "great" in the description of them, as well as from the average dimensions of those that still remain. In many other counties most of the churches in 1552 had three or four "belles"—some had more—and those "gret". In which counties, for that very reason, ancient bells are now scarce. When change-ringing came in with the 17th century, to meet the requirements of which additional bells were needed, it was found cheaper to increase the number of a peal by recasting, say, four heavy bells into six lighter, than to add two new trebles; and so the old bells were mostly consigned to the furnace. In Cumberland, on the other hand, which in 1552 had but four peals of three bells, and not more than two of four, and a century later only two peals of five, the change-ringing movement took but little hold. Thus it happened that one of the two mediæval peals of four, at Greystoke, to this day remains intact. The other, at Carlisle, augmented to five in 1608, had to submit in 1658 to the recasting of three of its ancient members during its transformation into a "tuneable" ring of six. The 76 mediæval pairs of mostly small bells the movement did not at all affect. Other causes, however, such as wear and tear, fall of tower and cot, cracks occasioned by ringing with cord attached to clapper, have operated to thin the ranks of the veterans; and the survivors, now confronted by a foe more formidable than any yet mentioned, seem likely to disappear before the advancing tide of "church restoration". But

But what, it may be asked, is to be done with a bell too cracked to be heard with pleasure, or too little to be heard at all beyond a few hundred yards? Well, if such be its case, take it down, and put up what you please in its stead. But pay it the respect due to a venerable relic. In the porch of the old church at Chelsea may be seen a bell on which is an inscription relating that it was presented by a man who having lost his way at night was guided back to his home by the Chelsea curfew. This mode of dealing with an ancient bell, when sentenced for whatever reason to disuse, we commend to all whom our advice may reach as a precedent which they will do well to follow.

ART. XVII.—*The Bells of Brigham, Cockermouth, Crosthwaite, Distington, and Holm Cultram.* By the late REV. H. WHITEHEAD, Vicar of Lanercost.

BRIGHAM.

The ancient tower of Brigham church contains three bells:

No.	Note.	Diameter.	Weight.
1	F ♯	22½ in.	2½ cwt.
2	D ♯	23½ in.	2¾ cwt.
3	D ♮	27½ in.	4½ cwt.

The note of the middle bell, one would think, should be E; but a competent jury has returned a verdict of D sharp.

The treble has round its shoulder, in Roman capitals and Arabic numerals, this inscription:—

A R [] 1711 ROGER FLEMING VICAR.

The tenor has

A R [] 1711 PEACE & GOOD NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Between the initials A R and the date, on both treble and tenor, is the stamp of a bell.

Mr. Roger Fleming, whose name is on the treble, son of Sir Daniel Fleming, of Rydal Hall, Westmorland, Kt, and brother of Sir George Fleming, Bart, bishop of Carlisle from 1734 to 1747, "was born at Rydal Hall March the ffirst 1670 and was inducted vicar of Brigham May the 1st 1705" *(Brigham Parish Register)*. A memorial tablet in the vestry states that he was "vicar of the parish 32 years and

and entirely beloved by his parishioners". He seems, from the way in which he kept the register and posted up the churchwardens' accounts, to have been a careful and methodical man. There is nothing further to notice concerning him except that he was the only one of four successive vicars who abstained from scratching his name or initials on the communion cup *(Church Plate in Carlisle Diocese*, p. 103). He took the more dignified course of handing down his name to posterity on a bell.

The initials and stamp on the treble and tenor are those of the celebrated founder Abraham Rudhall of Gloucester. The Gloucester foundry, when it came into his hands about the year 1684, had been in active operation for more than three centuries, and it was held by his descendants down to 1830, when it was fused into the foundry at Whitechapel (Ellacombe's *Devonshire Bells*, p. 62). Mr. Lukis, speaking of Rudhalls, says:—"Everything connected with their castings exhibits care and attention, and shews that the foundry in all its departments was well looked after" *Archæological Journal*, xxvii, 422). The tenor at Pilton, 52½ cwt., in D, by Abraham Rudhall, dated 1712, "is considered one of the finest bells in England" (*Devonshire Bells*, p. 63). The seventh bell at Pilton, also by Abraham Rudhall, has the same inscription as the Brighton tenor: PEACE & GOOD NEIGHBOURHOOD. Mr. Ellacombe says of the Rudhalls:—"They must have been been of that class of Englishmen called good 'Church and State people', for nearly all their bells bear good wishes for the one and the other" (*ib.*, p. 62). Amongst other noble specimens of Abraham Rudhall's handiwork are the bells of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, for which church he cast a ring of ten in 1710, increasing them to twelve in 1718; on which "the first peals of nine, eleven, and twelve are said to have been rung" (*Bell News*, vol. ii, p. 423). In 1726 he cast twelve for St. Martin's in the Fields, Charing Cross; which, Buckingham

ingham Palace being in the parish, have the honour of being "the first to proclaim any occasion of rejoicing in connection with the royal family" (*ib.* ii, 463). His epitaph in Gloucester cathedral runs thus:—"Abraham Rudhall, bell founder, famed for his great skill, beloved and esteemed for his singular good nature and integrity, died January 25, 1735, aged 78".

The middle bell at Brigham has round its shoulder—in Lombardic floriated letters, one of which (U) is upside down, and another (S) reversed, with a figure somewhat resembling the letter S reversed as initial or founder's stamp, and a diamond as intervening stop—the following inscription:—

[| SANCTUS · MICHAEL · ORA · PRO · NOBIS.

This is a brass bell, and of course mediæval. Edward VI's commissioners reported as belonging to Brigham church in 1552.

iij prche belles one santus bell.

The late Mr. Isaac Fletcher, M.P., F.R.S., in his valuable and interesting paper on Brigham Church, says:—"The opening for the sanctus bell will be observed in the east gable above the string course" (*Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Transactions*, iv, p. 157). He must mean the "squint" in the east wall of the tower, as there is no opening anywhere else apparently intended for a bell. The "iij prche belles", one of which must have been our "Sanctus Michael", were of course in the tower, and were probably placed there at the same time. When was that time? Perhaps we may find some clue to it in the history of the church. The tower, the lower part of which is "very strongly vaulted with stone, access being obtained to the chamber above by means of a narrow stair, reminding one in this respect of the fortified churches of the

the border" (*ib.*) is assigned by Mr. Fletcher to "*circa* 1220". No doubt, as soon as erected, it had bells; which, in addition to their ecclesiastical uses, served a very necessary secular purpose, as "fray bells", in a fortified Cumberland church. But whatever bells the tower originally contained doubtless disappeared when "in the year 1315 King Robert Bruce with the Black Douglas invaded and laid waste the whole district from Cockermouth to St. Bees, plundered the monastery at the latter place, destroyed the manor houses of Cleator and Stainburn, and laid violent hands on all the moveable property in the little religious establishment and church at Brigham, Askew's *Cockermouth*, p. 21). For a few years the church probably remained in a desolated condition. But "between 1320 and 1330 the south Norman aisle was pulled down without disturbing the arcade, and in its place a beautiful Decorated aisle was built, in which a chantry was founded by the then rector, Sir Thomas de Burgh" (*C. and W. Transactions*, iv, p. 160). This rector, Mr. Fletcher considered, was probably "a member of one of the ennobled families of Clanricarde and Mayo", and possibly identical with the Sir Thomas de Burgh mentioned in Burke's Peerage as appointed in 1331 Lord Treasurer of Ireland (*ib.* 151). He founded and endowed the chantry, which he dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, with the moiety of Brigham, given to him by Anthony, Lord Lucy, of Cockermouth, to whom it had been granted by the king for his valour in arresting Harcla, Earl of Carlisle, who was tried for treason and hanged in 1322 (*ib.*, 150). On the death of Sir Thomas de Burgh "in 1348 Thomas de Lucy with all formality appointed Sir John de Hooton chaplain to the chantry, and took proper security for the safe custody of the valuable property belonging to it" (p. 166). An indenture, in Norman French, preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, made in 1348 between Thomas de Lucy and Sir John de Hooton, has been translated

lated by the Rev. T. Lees, F.S.A. It "witnesseth that these things underwritten were left in the chapel by Sir Thomas de Borough the founder thereof in honour of God, and his sweet mother, there to remain for ever" (p. 173). From the "things underwritten" it appears that the chantry was very richly endowed with all manner of ecclesiastical furniture, of which the following are but a few items:—

A chalice of silver gilt a chafing dish of gilt copper a bell of good silver of XXXs weight two silver cruets one silver censer a brass bell a pome in the aumbry well hooped with a gilt plate with settings of emeralds pearls and diamonds with a chaplet of coral with the gaudays of silver gilt an Agnus Dei a crown for the head of our lady of silver gilt with xviij great pearls two saphires vj great diamonds.

The "bell of good silver", of course the sacring bell, rung at the elevation of the host, would be in the chantry. The "brass bell," doubtless bearing the name of Virgin Mary, to whom the chantry was dedicated, would be in the tower. But Sir Thomas de Burgh, who gave it and so much other valuable property to the chantry, would be sure to take care that the tower was provided with other brass bells for the use of the church: one of which would bear the name of St. Bridget, the church's patron saint. We seem, then, to be able to account for two of the "iij prche belles" found here by Ed. VI's commissioners; and the third would be the brass bell, dedicated to St. Michael, which still remains in the tower. At Greystoke, where there was an altar in the church to St. Katherine, there was and still is the bell "Katherina" in the tower. There may have been anciently an altar to St. Michael in Brigham church. But, whether there was or not, if the name of a third saint was wanted for one of the bells, we need not be surprised that the choice fell on St. Michael. Mr. Venables, in his paper on "Church Dedications in the Diocese of Carlisle", says:—"The dedication to St. Michael

Michael is one of the most frequent in England and Wales. It has been asserted on competent authority that there are more churches dedicated to St. Michael than to any other saint in the calendar. It stands high in the list in this diocese with no fewer than 27 churches" (*C. and W. Transactions*, iv, 133). This bell, if put up by Sir Thomas de Burgh, is about 560 years old; which estimate of its age is quite in accord with its appearance and character.

The chantry "bell of good silver of xxxs weight" had evidently disappeared before 1552, the Brigham inventory for which year (6 Edward VI) presents a remarkable contrast to that of 1348. Some of the items are torn off from the original MS., now in the Public Record Office; but whatever the missing items may be supposed to have been, the goods were few enough :—

Benghame { Itm one chales of silver . .
vestements ij tunycles ij . .
iij prche belles one santus bell

The Act for the dissolution of chantries was passed in 37 Henry VIII, 1545; but was only partially carried out during the short remainder of his reign, as he died January, 1547-8. But what Henry began, his son, or his son's advisers, fully executed; and if the goods of Brigham chantry did not go into the treasury of Henry VIII, they certainly found their way into that of Edward VI, and in one of the earlier years of his reign.

The "santus bell" would survive even the confiscations of 7 Edward VI, 1553, from the operation of which the "saunce belles" were expressly exempted, and would disappear, as a "monument of superstition", in the reign of Elizabeth.

The "brass bell" of the chantry, hanging in the tower, and therefore doubtless regarded as one of the "prche (parish) belles", would escape confiscation under the Act for dissolution of chantries; and, for reasons which we have

have explained in previous papers, would remain, together with its two companions, unmolested by the commission of 1553.

They all three probably remained in the tower until the incumbency of Mr. Roger Fleming; to whose posting-up of the churchwardens' accounts we are indebted for much information concerning the bells and other matters relating to Brigham church. This duty he began to discharge in 1709, not gratuitously, however, but for a well-earned recompence, as shewn by the following annually recurring entry:—

Paid Mr. ffleming for Drawing Presentments Copying the Register washing the Surplices and other Lening and taking and Booking these Accnts, 00 10 0.

In the year 1710-1 we have these entries:—

	£	s.	d.
Itm one day meeting about the Bells	00	00	6
Itm for helping dowh with the Bells	00	01	0
Itm pd Joseph Midleton towards the Bells.....	01	00	0

The first two of these items are repeated six times, once for each of the churchwardens representing the six townships of the parish; from which it would seem to have been the duty of the churchwardens to help in taking down the bells. Similar entries, however, are often found in old churchwardens' accounts, relating to work of a kind in which it is unlikely that each of several men of different occupations could be of any use whatever. It is not improbable, then, that such items indicate a sort of perquisite to churchwardens for looking on whilst someone else did the work. The man who was employed to take down the Brigham bells was evidently Joseph Middleton, and the wording of the item "*towards* the bells" is explained in the accounts for the following year, 1711-2, when Joseph Middleton, being himself in that year churchwarden for Brigham township, records:— Itm

Itm to John Kendal Matt Ashley and myself wch was in arrear for carrying to Kendal 2 Bells to be cast, bringing them againe and hanging them and yt at home in whole wheels, 5 15 0.

No doubt they had previously been rung, or rather chimed, with half wheels, as all bells were chimed before the introduction of change-ringing at the beginning of the 17th century. Here let us note that the two bells taken to Kendal were not taken there, as Mr. Fletcher says, "to break" (*C. and W. Transactions*, iv, p. 169), but "to be cast", and that Joseph Middleton speaks of "bringing them againe"; from which we gather that the present treble and tenor contain the metal of two of the three ancient bells. The reason why they were recast, with other information, is supplied in the following entries:—

	£	s.	d.
Paid the Bellfounder for Casting two Bells.....	16	09	7
For his coming over to see the sound one	01	00	0
To the Saxon at Kendal	00	01	0
For Stepps to the Bells	01	00	0
For six days working about the Bells	00	09	0
That day the Bells was hung up	00	10	6

From the mention of the third bell as "the sound one" it is to be inferred that the two other bells were recast because they were cracked. But if the note of the "sound one" was then as now D sharp, why did not the bell-founder, having come over to see it, recast the two cracked bells as C sharp and E, instead of D natural and E sharp? The probability is that the original note of "Sanctus Michael" was E, and has since 1711 been changed to D sharp by a slight crack, now perceptible in the waist of the bell.

Mr. Fletcher is doubtless right in saying that "half a guinea 'the day the Bells was hung' clearly points to a copious libation in celebration of the event" (*ib.* iv, 169). He may also be right in suggesting that the fee of one shilling

shilling " to the Saxon at Kendal " was " a complimentary donation from the churchwarden for showing him over Kendal church during his visit " (*ib*), except that Joseph Middleton was not yet churchwarden when he took the bells to be recast at Kendal.

It may be asked: How came the initials and stamp of Abraham Rudhall of Gloucester on bells cast or recast at Kendal? The explanation is this: that in those " old times of bad roads and few means of conveyance, when a bell had to be recast, it was often found easier and cheaper to bring the founder to the bell than to send the bell to the founder " (Tyssen's *Sussex Bells*, p. 45). Of course it is unlikely that Abraham Rudhall came himself to Kendal on this occasion. No doubt he sent one of his foremen. Perhaps he had several orders to execute for Cumberland and Westmorland, and chose Kendal as a central place, where to set up a temporary foundry. It may have been his custom to send a man occasionally into this or that distant country, and to cause it to be made known that a foreman from the famous Gloucester foundry would be ready for a few weeks or months to execute any orders that might be sent to him. A passage in Mr. Moser's paper on Kendal Parish Register may throw some light on the reason of Mr. Rudhall's choice of Kendal as a centre for his operations in these countries :—" It appears that in olden times Kendal Church had certain workshops and outbuilding connected with it. . . . Amongst other things it possessed a bell house, which was let out (when not required for church purposes) to one of the parishioners. The house was used for repairs of the clock and bells " (*C. and W. Transactions*, iii, 57). This, in all probability, was the place to which the two Brigham bells were taken by John Kendal, Joseph Middleton, and Matt Ashley, to be recast in 1711.

Matthew Ashley was appointed parish clerk in 1715, the churchwardens and inhabitants agreeing " to collect for

for him the sum of twopence a Reek or family, about Easter for his wages, so long as he performs his duty therein as he ought to do". He was also at the same time appointed sexton, and had to "keep the church clean and decent, and the churchyard free from stones". His name occurs in connection with so many matters that it is rather strange he never rang the bells. On one occasion, however, in 1757-8, he is reported as mending them.

His predecessor as clerk, Edward Wilson, had been one of the ringers, and was succeeded in 1715 by William ffawcett, whose mates for several years were John Dodshun and John Grindal. Their wages rose gradually from 6s. in 1711-2 to 13s. 4d. each in 1714-5. In 1716-7 there occurs for the first time an entry of this kind:—

Ale for the Ringers upon Rejoicing days, 00 02 00.

In the next year, 1717-8, there is no such entry. But in 1718-9, John Grindall being then one of the churchwardens, it reappears; from which it would seem as if Grindal came in on the question of drink for the ringers. Once in, he managed to stay in for five successive years. He was the warden for Brigham township, and, as such, according to what seems to have been the rule at that time, should have received the balance due to the incoming wardens, and acted as treasurer; but, for some unexplained reason, during his five years of office, the balance was always handed over to the warden of one of the other townships. To restore to the Brigham churchwardenship its lost precedence required the interposition of no less a potentate than the parish clerk. Accordingly, 1723-4, Matthew Ashley ousted Grindal, succeeding him as warden of Brigham township, and receiving the balance. On the expiration of his year of office, having restored the old order of things, Mr. Ashley gracefully made way for John

John Middleton, handing over to him the balance of £3 14s. 0d. Grindal, however, who had only been scotched, not killed, regained his position as churchwarden in 1726-7; at the end of which year, as if exhausted by this last effort, he finally disappeared, not only from the office of churchwarden, but also from the belfry, and even from the parish. "Long lost to view at length our man we trace" in the Brigham register:—

> 1750:—John Grindal of Goose Taile in the parish of Workington, ffarmer, April 30, buried.

Meanwhile, as Lord Beaconfield used to say, "many things had happened". Matthew Ashley had been five more times churchwarden, taking precedence and receiving the balance even when elected, in 1731-2, for Whinfell township. Mr. Roger Fleming had been succeeded by Mr. Joseph Dixon: successive ringers had come and gone; but one thing still went on:—

> 1750, Ale for ye Ringers 6 states day ringing, 0 4 0.

In the entries relating to this matter there is nothing particularly noticable, except in those for the year 1746-7, which are given with exceptional fulness of detail:—

	£	s.	d.
2 Quarts of Ale for ye Ringers at Jno Sibsons	0	0	6
Ale to ye Ringers at Jno Harris	0	2	0
Ale to ye Ringers at Tho Whites	0	2	6

From which it appears that the ringers, their ale being paid for out of the church rate, had to be careful not to allow any one ratepaying publican to enjoy a monopoly of their patronage; on which point Mr. Ellacombe quotes ringers as saying: "We never could give satisfaction to the publicans: if we went to the Red Lion we offended the

the landlord of the White Hart" *Devonshire Bells*, p. 467). It may be thought that John Sibson would be likely to take offence at only two quarts of ale being drunk at his house, while as many as eight quarts were drunk at the house of John Harris, and that even John Harris may have wanted to know why two quarts more were supplied to the ringers by Thomas White than by himself. But, if the ringers favoured White to the detriment of Sibson, and though to less extent, of Harris, the churchwardens stepped in to make things exactly square between Harris and White, nevertheless offending both by superior favour accorded to Sibson :—

	£	s.	d.
Ch: Wardens at Jno Sibsons	0	3	0
Ch: Wardens again at Jno Sibsons	0	3	0
Ch: Wardens meeting at Tho Whites when distributing ye Poor Money being ye 3rd of ffeb	0	3	0
Ch: Wardens meeting at Jno Harris when choosing new Ch: Wardens	0	3	6

One result of the "meeting at Jno Harris," which must have been the Easter vestry meeting, was that Thomas White and Joseph Harris, presumably a relative of the landlord, were among the churchwardens elected for the ensuing year. What consequences, on the ale question, resulted from this election we are unable to trace, since never again do the accounts supply the necessary data for examining in detail the distribution of patronage. A considerable acquaintance, however, with the churchwardens' accounts of other parishes enables us to state that in many places it was formerly a common practice to hold vestry meetings at a public house, and that the house varied according as this or that publican figured among the churchwardens. It was not merely the amount of ale consumed at vestry meetings that was the prize to be won. It was rather that the house where they were held became during

during the landlord's term of office the centre of parochial life.

But to return to the belfry, in which at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century signs appear of some disorder, now and again only two bells in use, a ringer absenting himself for a year or two, then returning, and finally in 1808-9 disappearing in company with another of the ringers; whereupon one of the churchwardens, Jonathan Harryman, who had been warden for Brigham township ever since 1799, as if tired of the vagaries of the ringers, takes to the belfry himself, at first associated only with John Brown, who had kept steadily on since 1781, but reinforced in 1815 by a third ringer in the person of the parish clerk, Jonathan Faulder. There is no mention in this century of "ale to the ringers"; but, on the other hand, during the reign of Jonathan Harryman, who remained churchwarden until 1819, their wages rise from 15 to 20 shillings per man. When Jonathan Harryman ceases to be churchwarden he also retires from the belfry, where his place is taken by Jonathan Owen. It is to be remarked, by the way, that formerly in Brigham parish an astonishing number of men bore the name as Jonathan.

With few exceptions, the most notable of which was Matthew Ashley, the Brigham parish clerk for the time being has been one of the ringers. The present excellent clerk, Mr. Richard Case, who told us the other day that he has sung in the choir, man and boy, for fifty years, is not one of the exceptions. "Until about 25 years ago", says Mr. Cass, "the treble used to be chimed as the congregation left the church on Sunday morning, that the folk at home should be warned that it was time to take the dinners out of the public oven". This scarcely seems to have been a good arrangement, as a sermon of unusual length might spoil the dinners. A better plan was described in our hearing, many years ago, by an old dissenting minister, who said that whilst preaching his first sermon

sermon, at a chapel to which he had been appointed minister, he heard a horn blow, whereupon most of the congregation at once left the chapel. "Why did that horn blow?" he afterwards asked one of the deacons; "and why, on hearing it, did so many persons get up and go out?" The deacon explained that the horn was the baker's signal that the dinners were ready. At Cockermouth one of the church bells is still rung after Sunday morning service. Mr. T. North, speaking of this custom as by no means obsolete, says that in some places it is understood as a notice that there will be evening service; but in other places the bell so rung is called the "pudding" or "dinner" bell, "being supposed to be rung in order to give the cook warning that service is over, and so dinner may be prepared"; sometimes called the "potato" bell, "because on hearing this bell the people at home put their potatoes in the pot for boiling" (*Bedfordshire Bells*, p. 93). It is, he adds, "probably the survival of the 'knolling of the Aves', mentioned in the Injunctions of 1538 as being sounded after the service, and at certain other times", and ordered to be "thenceforth left and omitted" (*ib*).

The Messrs. Lysons, writing in 1816, spoke of Brigham church as having "the only ring of bells in the county except the cathedral and Crosthwaite" (*Magna Britannia*, vol. iv, p. 39); a very curious statement, seeing that Cockermouth, only two miles distant from Brigham, had in 1816 a ring of six. One must think that they mistook Cockermouth for Brigham. Yet, even so, they might, with very little inquiry, have heard of Penrith and Workington, each with its ring of six, to say nothing of the four at Greystoke, and three at Dacre, Caldbeck, and Kirkoswald. Besides these we doubt whether in 1816 any other Cumberland church had as many bells as Brigham. Since that time half a dozen new rings of six have been added to the county stock of bells, two of eight, and two old

old rings of six have been increased to eight. There are not many more church towers in Cumberland which could hold even six bells. But the massive tower of Brigham church is certainly one of them. If at some future time it should be proposed to furnish it with a ring of six, the present tenor might serve as third bell in a ring with tenor in A. The Whitechapel ring at Thursby will nearly indicate what else would be required :—

		cwt.	qrs.	lbs.
Treble	F♯	3	3	9
No. 2.	E	3	3	21
No. 3.	D	4	1	18
No. 4.	C♯	5	0	0
No. 5.	B	6	0	11
Tenor	A	7	0	16

These weights are taken from the founders' invoice, and may therefore be relied on as accurate. Our estimate of the Brigham weights, reckoned from the diameters, is only approximate, and probably least correct in the case of the mediæval bell, which, from its shape, may be heavier than a modern bell of the same diameter. But its note? Well, if its crack be as slight as it seems, its original note should not be beyond recovery, if there be any truth in a story told by a German writer on bells, translated and quoted by Mr. Ellacombe, describing an operation performed upon a cracked bell, weighing 40 cwt., belonging to the church of St. Matthias at Treves. "Indescribable was the joy of Herr Devora when it was proved that . . . it sounded as if it had never been cracked" *Devonshire Bells*, Supplement, p. 449). Whether the present treble would be of any use in a ring of six it is for experts to say. In any case, for the sake of Roger Fleming, it would be a pity to let it go out of the parish. It might be transferred to the schoolroom, or to one of the district churches of Brigham. As for the mediæval bell, it

it should on no account leave the parish church, where it has done good service for more than 500 years, but should ever be preserved with care, even if altogether past work, and regarded with affection, as one of the most interesting monuments in one of the most interesting of Cumberland parish churches.

COCKERMOUTH.

The period dealt with in the following paper will be confined to that of the oldest extant book of the Cockermouth churchwardens' accounts; which begins at the year 1668, and ends at 1702.

The churchwardens in 1668 were Christopher Peile, John Peile of the Swan, Anthony Plasket, and Peter Allonby. Again, in 1674, we find John Peile of the Swan among the churchwardens. Meanwhile no other churchwarden's residence is specified; nor ever again until 1742, when another John Peile is described as "of the Kirkgate", evidently to distinguish him from a namesake, who was also one of the churchwardens in that year, styled John Peile de Buck, whatever that may mean. The former of these two wardens was probably the son or grandson of "John Peile of the Swan"; which is situated in Kirkgate. Doubtless in 1668, as in 1742, there was more than one John Peile in Cockermouth, and it was necessary to adopt some way of informing posterity which of them was the churchwarden. It was not because of its importance, then, that the Swan is mentioned as his abode.

All the same we may be quite sure that the Swan in the year 1668 was an important place: for

in many parishes it was formerly the practice to hold the vestry meetings in a public house, which varied according as this or that publican figured among the churchwardens; and, of course, the house in which the vestry meetings were held became during the landlord's term of office the centre of parochial life. (*Keswick Guardian*, April 11, 1885).

Whatever

Whatever there was, then, of interest to engage the attention of the good people of Cockermouth in the year 1668 would be fully discussed by the churchwardens, the parish clerk, the sexton, the ringers, and other parishioners, in the back parlour of the Swan.

There certainly was in that year something of unusual interest to talk about in Cockermouth; for it was in 1668 that, after an absence of several years from Cumberland, the famous George Larkham, the Commonwealth vicar of Cockermouth, who had been ejected at the Restoration, returned, not however to the vicarage, nor yet to Cockermouth, the Five-Mile Act being still in force, but at all events to Cumberland, and "sate down with his family at Egermond (Egremont) the 23rd of April" *(Cockermouth Congregational Records)*. This perhaps was not sufficiently near to cause any commotion at Cockermouth. But it soon became known that he intended to hold a meeting with his Cockermouth friends, of whom he had many, on May 15th, at Embleton; on which day Mr. Robert Ricarby, who had superseded him as vicar, went over to Embleton, and "made a furious disturbance" *(ib)*. We can easily understand that there was no love lost between Mr. Ricarby and Mr. Larkham. But their relations must have been still further strained by the circumstance that Mr. Ricarby was not only the successor of Mr. Larkham, but had also been his predecessor, and had been ejected during the Commonwealth. So there was great scope for dissussion at the Swan when it became known that Mr. Larkham had returned to Cumberland, and was about to hold a meeting at Embleton; and if the ringers looked in to hear what Mr. Churchwarden Peile had to say upon the matter, it is probable that they, as part and parcel of the existing order of things, manifested no desire to celebrate Mr. Larkham's return by a peal in the church tower.

It is by no means certain, however, that Mr. Larkham, even

even had he returned as vicar, would have cared to be welcomed by a peal; for he was a strict Puritan. He may not have had the same abhorence of church bells as his old opponent, George Fox, the Quaker, had, who disliked even to hear a bell ring for service. "It struck at my life," said Fox. He thought it was just like a market bell calling the people together that the priest might sell his wares. No such hostility as this did the Puritans, whether Presbyterian or Independent, with some exceptions, exhibit to church bells. Some of them were even very fond of bells, like John Bunyan, who had himself been a ringer, and to the last retained his liking for them, though he regarded it as a weakness of the natural man, to be restrained and kept down; which perhaps was the prevalent attitude of mind of the Puritans, at all events towards peal-ringing; and doubtless Mr. Larkham, whilst vicar of Cockermouth, had discouraged "rejoicing peals".

But even if Mr. Larkham would have liked a peal, and the ringers had been ever so anxious to give him one, I doubt whether they could have done so; for there must have been something very wrong with the bells, seeing that for ordinary ringing in 1668 there seems only to have been paid one shilling. Yet, strange to say, in the same year we find

Pd ye 29 of May, November 5, & ye 30 of January,
for Ringing 00 06 00

How came it to pass that the payment for ringing on three days was six times as much as that for the fifty-two Sundays? The only explanation I can suggest for this anomaly is that the bells were probably in such bad order that they were not rung at all in that year. But how about the three extra days? Well, on such days the ringers were almost everywhere, sometimes partly, and sometimes altogether, paid in ale; and John Peile of the Swan

Swan, when the bells could not be rung, would perhaps see all the more occasion for observing the traditional custom of drinking of ale, which itself was regarded as a sort of celebration of the day. To be sure, the 30th of January, the anniversary of the death of King Charles I, seems to us scarcely a fitting occasion for festive drinking of ale. But they did not trouble themselves much about anomalies in those days.

It is the more probable that the bells in 1668 were altogether out of order, since in the following year, 1669, there was paid for "hanging of the Bels £1 ,, 9 ,, 7". But even then matters seem not to have been put straight; for in 1670 and 1671 a good deal of tinkering went on in the belfry. One of bells was "taken downe & up severall times", and had a "new claper"; another had a "new band to its wheels"; another had a "new hinger". Meanwhile the ringers got very little in those three years; 2s. 8d. in 1669, and 2s. in 1670, shewing they had very little work to do. In 1671 they got nothing at all, not even ale; but then John Peile of the Swan was no longer in office.

Still further measures, then, for reform of the belfry, had to be resorted to in 1672 :—

For mending of the great bell and for beare to them that took it downe	0	7	7
Item for mending the midle bell and supporting the frames	0	2	6

Here we get the number of the bells, the mention of the "midle bell" shewing that there were three; which, though in most parts of England a small number for the parish church of a market town and borough, was above the average in Cumberland.

Now, notwithstanding the mending of the great and middle bells, the ringers don't get to work, and in 1672 their only payment was a shilling on "Gunpowder treason Day".

Day". Clearly the "mending" had done no good; and the item of "beare for taking down the great bell" must mean that the churchwardens found that it was really past mending. So in the following year, 1673, there is an item which shews that the great bell, having been taken down, had not yet returned to the belfry:—

ffor taking the greate Bell out of the earth and removing the old bell into its frame	0	5	0

The reason for moving the old bell, probably the middle one, into the frame of the great bell (tenor), is thus explained:—

To Jo Atkinson for making the clocke strike on the old bell	0	2	0

Not much ringing went on during these operations, as there is only this item:—

To Richd Peirson Geo Peirson and Jo Hudson for drinke and for their ringing 29th May and 5th November	0	3	6

Nothing is said about ringing on other days. Meanwhile an important work was in hand:—

1674

Payd for the bell casting	18	0	0
Mor to the bellfounders for ther advise aboutt hanging of the bell	0	7	6
And towards ther jurney and chargis	0	12	6
And for beare and other disbursements when she was hung	1	2	4
For a bell rope	0	4	0
To the Clarke for his labour aboutt the bell	0	3	0
For drawing bonds and articles aboutt the bell	0	2	6
To John Atkinson for making a bell wheel.....	0	15	0

This work must have been done in the year 1673-4, according to churchwardens' computation, as it was paid for, soon after Easter, by

An

An asessment mad by the fouer churchwardens and the twelve sidmen according to our custom the 7 of June 1674 for the casting of the greate bell.

The rate was "collected by Richard Peirson, parish clerke"; who "for his paynes taking about the church affairs" gets 3s. We may be sure he took pains about the "greate bell"; for he was himself one of the ringers, no doubt their captain; and amongst other "paynes" taken by him about the "church affairs" must have been the posting up of the accounts; for it was surely a ringer who wrote concerning the great bell that "*she* was hung". The uninitiated may call a bell by what name they please: Great Paul of London, Big Ben of Westminster, Tom of Lincoln; to the ringer it will still be *she*.

Now this great bell, which had been cast, was probably the old great bell, recast; and recast in Cockermouth, perhaps in the churchyard, where a pit was dug for the purpose. But the item for "bellfounder's journey" shows that the founder was not a Cockermouth man. It is not unlikely that he was a Penrith man, as we know that in the 17th century there was at Penrith a foundry of considerable repute.

The great bell being now set up, we find the ringers again paid for Sunday ringing; not much, however: Rd. Peirson, 5s., Jo. Hudson, 3s., and Jo. Hodgson, 3s. On each of the rejoicing days, however, May 29 and Nov. 5, they had 2s. 6d.; for in this year, 1674, John Peile of the Swan was again one of the churchwardens. I have noted that one of his colleagues was Robert Mayson, probably an ancester of one of the present churchwardens, Mr. C. Mayson, to whom, as also to Mr. Robinson, my best thanks are due for their courtesy in lending me the old accounts; which, for other reasons besides the information they give concerning the bells, are highly interesting to anyone who cares for local history.

But to return to the bells. It is evident, from what has been

been already stated, that they were in very bad condition, and not much used, down to the time of the recasting of the great bell. No doubt much disorder had prevailed. So at the Easter vestry meeting, on May 14, 1674, the attention of the vestry was called to an irregularity, which, now that belfry reform had been seriously taken in hand, was no longer to be tolerated. Hence the following edict; which, for greater impressiveness, was issued in the names of both the outgoing and incoming churchwardens:—

It is ordered by the new and old churchwardens That no person shall hereafter Ring any of the Bells at the death of any (except three peeles according to the Canon). But that every such person shall come to one of the then present churchwardens and have their consent and pay unto the then churchwardens Two shillings and sixpence to the publicke use of the church.

From this it would seem that it had come to be considered that anyone was at liberty, on the occasion of a death, to go and ring one of the church bells, without the permission of the constituted authorities, and to ring it how and at what times he pleased; which perphaps was formerly the custom in many Cumberland parishes, as to this day it is the custom in one Cumberland village church with which I am acquainted. But the Cockermouth churchwardens of 1673-4, both old and new, very properly determined to put a stop to it. It does not seem, however, from the wording of their order, that they forbade the ringing by private individuals; but merely that they required permission to do so to be asked for and paid for. Furthermore they required observance of canonical usage: "three peeles according to the Canon". The canon here referred to is the 67th, which enjoins that

when any is passing out of this life, a bell shall be tolled, and the minister shall then not slack to do his duty. And after the party's death, if it so fall out, there shall be rung no more than one short peal, and one other before and another after the Burial.

About

About the tolling of a bell "whilst any is passing out of this life" it is to be noticed that the churchwardens say nothing; probably because this usage had become obselete at Cockermouth. It was called the "passing bell"; and, though there is no trace or tradition of its use in Cumberland in post-Reformation times, it did not fall into disuse in many other parts of the country until about the middle of last century. A bell is said to be tolled when the strokes, however produced, occur with a rather long interval between them. Ringing means a quick swing, and is of course the term applicable to a peal. The canon then does not sanction anything like a knell after death, whether on the day of the death or at the funeral, but orders a "peal", intended to indicate thanksgiving for the deliverance of a soul from "the miseries of this sinful world". Yet in most places, nowadays, nothing but tolling is ever practised in connection with a death or a funeral. Indeed the death bell has not only adopted the tolling of the passing bell, but has also appropriated its name; for it is now often, but erroneously called the passing bell. Not that one often hears it so called in Cumberland, for a very good reason: for the death bell itself is seldom, *i.e.*, in few parishes, heard in Cumberland. On the other hand the after-burial bell, which in most other counties has become almost obsolete, is far from uncommon in Cumberland; where for the most part it is rung, not tolled. This, however, may be due to the circumstance that Cumberland church bells in country parishes are so small that when tolled there is little or no solemnity in the sound. Anyhow, whatever the cause of their being rung, the ringing is more in accordance than tolling with the injunction of the canon. It may be said perhaps that a peal, which is what the canon enjoins, is not obtained by the ringing of a single bell. But that is a mistake. The late Mr. North and other campanologists have decided that it is quite permissible to call the ringing of

of a single bell a peal. No doubt, wherever there are several bells, the ringing of them all as a peal, after death and at funerals, was contemplated by the framers of the canon; and such peals were formerly rung in many parishes down to comparatively recent times; but they are seldom heard now, except occasionally as muffled peals. A muffled peal was rung at Crosthwaite last year immediately after the burial of the late Mr. Douglas, whilst a hymn was being sung at the grave; and the effect of it was admirable. At Cockermouth there is now neither the usage of the death bell, except on rare occasions, nor that of the after-burial bell.

We may regard the order of the churchwardens in 1673-4 as a step in the direction of funeral reform. Whether to regard another step they took about the same time as one in the same direction will depend upon the point of view from which one looks at it:

ffor a new public coffen for the use of the parish 14/-

Did this mean that one and the same coffin was used over and over again for carrying the dead to the churchyard? That is certainly what it did mean. Appended to the churchwardens' accounts of each year is an inventory of the parish church goods; and, whereas amongst other goods there constantly recurs "One coffen for ye publicke use of ye parish," never again do we meet with another "new coffen" among the items in the accounts. To what extent it was used, whether the parishioners generally had recourse to it, there is nothing to shew. But we may be sure it carried every pauper to his grave. Was it then an institution peculiar to Cockermouth? Well, a few weeks ago, whilst reading some antiquarian publication, I met with the statement that formerly many parishes had a public coffin; and the writer, so far from admitting that the disuse of public coffins has been any improvement, maintained

maintained that their abolition had been a retrograde step. He said it is quite a mistake to commit a corpse to the ground encased in anything which delays its absorption into the dust from which it came. Of course he did not mean that it should have no covering whatever; but that it should be wrapped, so as to be concealed from view, in something less durable than wood, a coffin being only used to convey it to the grave. And, when we come to think of it, this is nearly the same method as many sanitary reformers now recommend.

Returning to the bells, we find that in 1676 there was paid by the churchwardens

To Henry Beck for a new hand bell in money	0	7	0
and he allowed for old bell	0	2	0

This then, was no new institution, since there had been an "old bell". Indeed, a hand bell, as an article of church furniture, was a very old and once universal institution. At Brigham church there was, more than 500 years ago, a "bell of good siluer xxx oz. in weight", evidently a hand bell, and in Edward VI's Inventory there is continual mention of hand bells among the goods of the various parish churches. Mr. North says :—

> They were used in a variety of ways: in processions on Rogation Days; in the procession when the Eucharist was borne to the house of the sick or dying, to give warning of its approach, that all might pay reverence to it; hence it was sometimes called, as at Gt. Gonerby, Lincolnshire, the "houselling bell"; it was also rung to clear the way, and to call for a prayer for the deceased, at the burial of the dead, and so was frequently called the "corse bell". (*Bedfordshire Chnrch Bells*, pp. 103-4).

It was also sometimes used as the sacring bell; which perhaps was the use of the silver bell at Brigham. We may be quite sure, however, that for no such purpose as any

any of these did the Cockermouth churchwardens in 1676 purchase their new hand bell from Henry Beck. Nor is it likely that even the "old bell", which Mr. Beck took as part payment for the new, had seen the days when it would be put to any of those uses; for all such bells were ordered to be destroyed in the early years of the reign of Elizabeth. A document, called "*Inventarium Monumentorum Superstitionis*", preserved in the Episcopal Registry at Lincoln, and printed in Mr. E. Peacock's book on "English Church Furniture", contains

returns made in the 8th year of Elizabeth, to certain royal commissioners, by the churchwardens of 150 parishes in the county of Lincoln, of such articles of church furniture as had been used in the previous reign, but were in 1566 considered by the authorities to be superstitious or unnecessary.

A few extracts will suffice, so far as handbells are concerned, as specimens of these returns:—

OSBOURNBY: "Handbelles sold to Tho & Wm Bell, and they have made brase mortars with them". (*Peacock*, p. 120).
SLEAFORD: "Sacring belles with suche other trumperie were burned in the market place the xxj daye of October Ao secundo Elizabeth". (*ib.*, p. 138).
SPRIDLINGTON: "Sold and defaced". (p. 142).
UPPINGTON: "Broken and knockt in peces". (p. 514).
ULCEBY: "Broken in peces and sold to our Vicare". (p. 162).
WADINGHAM: "Honge at a Maypole toppe". (p. 163).
WINTERTON: "Gone at the puttinge awaie of all papistrie". (p. 164).

The Cumberland returns, if any such were made, are no longer extant. But a document quoted by Whellan (p. 334), shows Dr. Barnes, bishop of Carlisle, ordering the churchwardens of Crosthwaite in 1571 to "sell all the Popish relics and monuments of superstition as presently remain in their parish"; which he (the bishop) proceeds to enumerate; and among them we find "three hanbells".

As

As far as Cockermouth is concerned it is no use saying that Bishop Barnes doubtless issued similar injunctions to all churthwardens in his diocese; because Cockermouth was not at that time in the diocese of Carlisle, but in that of Chester. Still if the Queen's orders in this matter penetrated to Rose Castle, no doubt they were received and obeyed by the bishop of Chester. So the Cockermouth handbell, allowed for and carried away by Henry Beck, was no mediæval relic. What purpose then had it served, and why, when old and perhaps cracked, were the churchwardens under the necessity of finding for it a successor? We are reduced to the prosaic hypothesis that the Cockermouth handbell was for the use of the town crier. To provide a bell for that functionary is in our day no part of the duty of the churchwardens; but two centuries ago it would be difficult to say what was not a part of the churchwardens' duty. As for the town crier, doubtless it was they who appointed him, they found him his bell, and they gave him his orders; very curious orders, some of them, from a modern point of view.

In the same year, 1676, in which a new handbell was procured there was

paid to Richard Peirson for glaseing the windowes and ringing the morneing bell.....	3	0	0

Richard Peirson, then, the parish clerk, was a glazier. How much he received for ringing the morning bell, which in that year is mentioned for the first time, does not appear in this item. But in the following year, 1677, he had £1 for "ringinge morninge bell"; which the accounts show was henceforth the regular pay for this special work. What was its purpose? We often meet with a morning bell in churchwardens' and corporation accounts, *e.g.* :—

1614

1614, To Ralf Kidd for ringing 4 of ye Clock xxs (*Carlisle Corporation Accounts*).

It was in most cases a survival from pre-Reformation times, when a bell was rung as a reminder to all to say the appointed prayers. But at the time we are now dealing with, and for long afterwards, it was "used simply as a call for daily work"; as at Tydd St. Mary, "to call men and carts to work"; and at Louth, known as the "getting-up bell" (North's *Lincolnshire Bells*, p. 213). It is "still rung at five o'clock in the morning at South Luffenham, and till recently was heard in many parts of the county" (*Rutlandshire Bells*, p. 202). At Toddington "the tenor was rung at 4 in the morning down to 1877"; and at Woburn "a bell was formerly rung at 4 a.m. as a school bell in connection with the free school there. It was afterwards rung at 6 a.m., but has been entirely discontinued for about forty years" (*Bedfordshire Bells*, p. 105). At Cockermouth the morning bell was not a survival; for we have no trace of it before 1676. Something new, then, must have happened in that year.

Well, in Askew's "Guide to Cockermouth" (p. 8) we read:—

The Grammar School for the townships of Cockermouth and Embleton, situate in All Saints' Churchyard, was founded by Philip Lord Wharton, Sir George Fletcher, Sir Richard Graham, and Dr. Smith, Bishop of Carlisle, in 1676.

Burn and Nicolson (II, 67), mentioning the same four founders, with "other contributors" unnamed, more correctly describe Dr. Smith as "dean (afterwards bishop of Carlisle"; for he did not become bishop until 1684. Lysons (p. 43) says "the school was founded in the reign of Charles II by Philip Lord Wharton, Sir Richard Graham, and others". He does not give any date; r

do Burn and Nicolson. Whellan (p. 306) says "the school was founded in 1676", giving as his authority for this date "an inscription over the door", which he quotes. As he does not notice four coats of arms, and some initials, by which it is flanked, I here quote it with these additions, additions, at all events indicating the positions of the shields.

✠	SCHOL : HUJUS FUND :	✠
	JACT : FUERUNT XXV DIE	
✠	MENSIS MAII AN DOM	✠
R L	MDCLXXVI.	R T

No doubt the arms are those of the four chief founders. But they are so defaced that, if we did not know who the founders were, it would be quite impossible to make out what is on any one of the shields. Inspecting them, however, with knowledge of the founders, we may venture to assign the higher shield on the left to Dean Smith, the lower to Fletcher, the higher on the right to Wharton; and the fourth, on which there remains nothing that can be recognised, falls to Graham. The owners of the initials R L and R T we are able to identify by help of another inscription, on a stone tablet inside the schoolroom, also quoted, but incorrectly, by Whellan, who makes the first line run thus:—

HÆREDES PULCHRAS CUM POSTERA VIDERET ÆTAS.

He also in the third line substitutes A for U as final letter of the fourth word; which is a contraction, perhaps accidental, of SUBSCRIPTUM. The following is a correct copy of the inscription:—

HAS ÆDES PULCHRAS CUM POSTERA VIDERIT ÆTAS
ET LOWRY ET TUBMAN SIT GRATA UTRIQUE RICHARDO.
ULTIMA CUJUS HABET SUBSCRIPTU LINEA NOMEN
HUJUS ERAT PRIMUS GYMNASIARCHA SCHOLÆ.
GAUENUS NOBLE . 1676.

Whellan

Whellan was only just in time to preserve the author's surname, which is now quite erased by decay. But Mr. Noble, could he have foreseen what Whellan would represent him as having written, would have erased it himself. It must, however, be admitted that a man who could get safely through three Latin hexameters should have been more careful of his reputation than he has shewn himself in his pentameter; where his tautological designation of himself as "gymnasiarcha scholæ" lets him in for a false quantity. This he might easily have avoided by adhering to hexameter and keeping clear of "scholæ", *e.g.*:—

Hujus gymnasii primus fuit ille magister.

A translation of these lines, as literal as the exigencies of metre and rhyme permit, is here subjoined:—

Two names shall still, to all their gaze who fix
On this fair building, in some distant year,
Lowry and Tubman, Richards both, be dear,
And, writ below, let one last line proclaim
Who was first master of this school: his name
Was Gawen Noble. Sixteen seventy-six.

Here then we have the rightful claimants to the initials R L and R T: Richard Lowry and Richard Tubman. That they were men of consequence in Cockermouth is evident from the prefix of "Mr" to each of their names in a list of 300 householders who paid the "church sesse" in 1676, to only fifteen of whom was that title accorded. Richard Lowry was an "overseer of the poore" in that year. But neither he nor Richard Tubman was ever a churchwarden, unless the latter was identical with one Richard Tubman who was churchwarden in 1724-5. Mr. Lowry was probably a dissenter, for on

Dec 20, 1692, the Brethren met at Brother Lowry's house in Cockermouth in order to the choosing of a Deacon (*Congregational Records*);

and eighteen months later

Richard Lowry, an aged disciple, departed in peace, June, 20, 1692. (*ib.*)

Assuming the identity of "Brother Lowry" with the Richard Lowry of the inscription we may impute a tolerant spirit to the author of the hexameters, who was Mr. Ricarby's curate, as we learn from a footnote to the accounts of 1690-1 :—

These accounts passed before Gawen Noble Minister.

The curate, down to a time within living memory, was usually the master of the school. Schools of this kind, of which there are or have been several in Cumberland, are mostly of Elizabethan origin. Nor is the foundation of this school, notwithstanding the above cited authorities, to be assigned to a later date. Hutchinson (II, 118), in his account of Cockermouth, says that "the free grammar school was founded soon after the Reformation". This statement, if uncorroborated, as it seems at variance with the account given by all the other local historians, we might hesitate to accept; but it is confirmed by a note in the parish inventory for 1673-4 :—

Henry Fletcher Vicar of Towne Malling part of his Last Will Dated xxx day of July 1554 wherein is Bequeathed Fourescore pounds to the Inhabitants of Cockermouth to find a Schoole Master &c. The whole will and Administracion dated in Aprill 1561 were delivered from Churchwardens to Churchwardens till the yeare 1629 when Thomas ffrance and his partnere were Churchwardens who hath keept it ever since and lost the Administracion and a good part of the will as appeares.

Of course a school founded in 1561 might have ceased to exist long before 1673, and so would have no continuity with

with a school founded in 1676. But that this school had not ceased to exist appears from the title page of the old account book, dated "the yeare of our Redemption 1668":—

A Booke of accountes of the parish of Cockermouth wherein is contained the Bookes Records writeings and other Vtensalls belonging to the Church & Free Grammer Schoole there.

In 1673-4 the parish inventory has these items:—

2 Rentall Bookes in parchment of Schoole Land.
A copie of Decree for paymt of 5*li* yearly by Mr Fletcher of Tallantire for the use of the Free Schoole.
A Deed & bond from Mr. William Uryell for x*li* to ye Schoole.
A Deed bond & Defeazance from Michaell Hodgshon and Mary his wife for Five pounds to ye Schoole. See Anno 1640 in the old booke.
Scapula's Lexicon Græco-Latinum & Cooper's Dictionary the Gift of Mr. Peter Murthwaite to the Schoole.

In the same year the following "payments to the Master of the sd Schoole" are recorded:—

At Whitsuntide last	.....	.....	0	6	0
At Martinmas last	.....	...	0	6	0
On St. Thomas Day last	.....	.....	0	3	0
On Good ffriday last	.....	.....	0	3	0

There is also in that year an item which throws light on the matter now under consideration:—

ffor one yeare rent for the School house	.....	1	0	0

The school, then, though founded in 1561, and evidently in existence "Anno 1640", also "in the yeare of our Redemption 1668", and in 1673-4, had as yet no house of its own. But the time for its obtaining one was now at hand; and in 1676-7 the churchwardens in their inventory report

one

One letter from Sr Geo ffletcher touchinge our ffree Gramer schoule one from Sr Richard Graham one from Mr Geo Gee & one from henry Bouch Esqre

Doubtless these letters referred to the new schoolroom; the foundations of which, according to the lintel inscription, were laid on May 25, 1676. To this inscription may be traced the origin of the prevalent belief that the school was founded in 1676. But the inscription must mean that the schoolroom, not the school, was founded in that year. Richard Lowry and Richard Tubman, whose initials appear on the lintel, were probably the builders of the room; and Gawen Noble, when he described himself as "primus gymnasiarcha scholæ", could only have meant that he was the first master who presided over the school in that room. The present master, I fear, is likely to be the last. Already he has had to desert the old building, now in an almost ruinous condition, and to rent a room wherein to carry on his school. Nor does there seem to be any intention to repair the once "pulchras ædes" in which Gawen Noble taught.

The importance of the year 1676 in this story would of itself warrant our assuming that at Cockermouth as at Woburn the morning bell, then heard for the first time, was "rung in connection with the free school", perhaps to call the boys to school; and as the schoolroom was in the churchyard, and the bell was rung by the parish clerk, who was captain of the church ringers, we may also assume that one of the church bells was used for that purpose. But the purpose for which this bell was rung is placed beyond doubt by a change in the wording of the item for ringing it, which in 1688-9 becomes

To Richard Peirson for Ringing of Scholer Bell 1 0 0

In later years it is sometimes called the "scholar bell", sometimes the "morning bell", and sometimes simply "the

"the bell". The pay for ringing it is always the same, viz.: £1; and if, as originally at Woburn, it had to be rung all the year round at 4 o'clock, I think that Richard Peirson fairly earned his pay. And the unfortunate master! And the wretched boys! It was indeed well that at Woburn the hour was afterwards changed to six. There is some ground, however, for hoping that the Cockermouth morning bell was rung at seven; for in 1695-6 there is this item:—

To Jos Noble for Ringing seven a clock bell	1	0	0

Joseph Noble, successor of Richard Peirson as parish clerk, made his first appearance in the belfry in 1691-2, for which year there are these items:—

To Richard Peirson for Bell Ringing	0	7	0
To Joseph Noble for ringing ye Bell	0	10	0
To one ffearon by Mr Noble order	0	2	6

Peirson, as we never again find him in the belfry, probably died in that year. Then, during a short interregnum, "Mr. Noble", whom I take to be Gawen Noble, schoolmaster and curate, has the morning bell rung by "one ffearon"; who presently gives place to Joseph Noble, now parish clerk and captain of the ringers. Henceforth Joseph Noble annually receives his £1 for ringing the morning bell, under whatever name, until in 1695-6 it seems to be called the "seven a clock bell". I say it *seems* to be so-called; for we must not too hastily assume the hour in this item to be 7 *a.m.* We must first examine the "curious legend of the evening bell". (Askew, p. 1).

Mr. Askew, in his "Guide to Cockermouth" (2nd ed. pp. 5, 6), speaking of the parish charities, says:—

One singular legacy has been lost. This legacy relates to the ringing of one of the church bells every night at seven o'clock for about five minutes from Halloween to Candlemas. Tradition gives two slightly

slightly different versions as to the origin of this singular custom. One attributes it to a man; the other, which is the most generally accepted, is that adopted by Mr. Peter Burn, the Brampton poet, viz., that its originator was a lady, who had the misfortune 'once upon a time' to be overtaken by darkness and was lost upon Slate Fell, about a mile east of the town. . . . This lady, to whom tradition assigns the name of Miss Betty Waif, became bewildered in the darkness, and sat down upon a stone, still known as "Betty Waif's Stone," a large earth-fast boulder. . . . Whilst sitting here, lost and forlorn, she heard the welcome sound of the church bell. She rose, proceeded in the direction of the sound, and reached her home in safety. As a token of thankfulness for her deliverance she left the sum of £2 per annum to be paid for the ringing of the bell nightly during the dark quarter of the year, as a guide to any wanderer who might be benighted; and although this donation is lost, the ringing of the bell still continues. The ringers, eight in number, mount the tower weekly by turns to ring out what is now designated by the townspeople "The Evening Bell."

The second edition of the "Guide to Cockermouth" was published in 1872; since which date, I am sorry to say, this bell has been discontinued. Its story, as told by Mr. Askew, is not improbable; nor is it, as he considers, "singular," if by that he means unique. Mr. W. Andrews, in his "Anecdotal History of Bells," says:—

In winter, and in flat and dangerous localities, the ringing of the bell in the evening has often been the means of guiding and sometimes saving the the lives of travellers; and there are instances on record of persons so saved leaving a sum of money for ringing this bell. Such is the story of a bride, who, from an English village stole out to hide, like another Ginevra, from her friends on the wedding day. The place was near a wide moor, and the girl hid awhile among the furze. When she sought to return, to laugh merrily at the anxious groom and guests, she took a wrong path, and presently found herself on the waste. The shades of night and the shrouding snow fell fast, and the bride had well nigh given herself up to despair; when, hark, the curfew bell, how sweetly pealing from the old grey tower that overshadowed her home! After being guided to her home by the blessed sound, she presented a chime of bells to the church, and upon her death, years after, it was found she had bequeathed money to keep up the ringing of the curfew bell for ever (*Newcastle Courant*, June 1, 1883).

Mr.

Mr. Andrews does not help us to identify the village which was the scene of this story. The late Mr. T. North, in one instance, is more circumstantial. Speaking of the curfew he says :—

In several parishes, as traditionally at Langham in this county (Rutlandshire), the continuance of the curfew is sought to be secured by an endowment, provided by persons who in times when roads were badly defined, and crossed an open unenclosed country, lost their way in the gloom of the evening, or in the darkness of winter early nights, but were enabled to find their village homes by its welcome sound. Apparently with reference to this end it is frequently only rung during the winter months (*Rutlandshire Church Bells*, p 100).

Turning to Mr. North's account of the parish of Langham we find the following statement :—

The Curfew is here rung at 8 p.m. during the winter months, after which the day of the month is tolled. Tradition says a lady, being benighted, and finding her way home by the sound of the bells, left an endowment for the future ringing of this bell; but none such is now known (*ib.* p 137).

It is disappointing that these stories about legacies for the continuance of the evening bell invariably end with the statement that no such legacy is now known. I thought the other day that I had at last got hold of a piece of conclusive evidence in behalf of one such story; for I was informed, on what seemed good authority, that in the porch of the old church at Chelsea may be seen a bell bearing an inscription to the effect that it was presented by a man who having lost his way at night was guided back to his home by the Chelsea curfew. Naturally I was anxious to see a rubbing of the inscription; and, through the kindness of a friend, one was taken, and sent to me by post. But, alas, it ran thus :—

THE GIFT OF THE HON WILLIAM ASHBURNHAM ESQ
COFFERER OF HIS MAJESTY'S HOUSEHOLD 1679.

In these stories, as in most of the same kind, the bell is stated

stated to have been the curfew. Was, then, the bell heard by Betty Waif the curfew? Clearly not; for if the curfew at Cockermouth had not become obsolete before the time when the oldest extant book of accounts begins, we should certainly come upon the trace of an evening bell before 1695. If the "seven a clock bell" in that year was rung at 7 p.m., then it was in 1695 that the evening bell, whatever its origin, was first rung. It is not, however, until 1703-4 that there is any clear indication of an evening bell. The accounts for that year have this entry:—

Cash paid to Joseph Noble for ringing the scholer bell, broums 6d. for sweping the Church, Oile for ye Clock 6d, for ringing the saven a Clock bell first time 6d, Coreunation day ringing ye bells 6d	1 2 0

Here the "scholer" or morning bell—the payment for which, though not specified, must have been £1—is distinct from the "saven a Clock bell": which in succeeding years is sometimes called the "evening bell"; for ringing which "first time", and that time often indicated as November, seldom more than 6d. is paid. Clearly we have here the 7 p.m. bell, rung each year "first time" at Halloween, and last time at Candlemas, down to its recent abolition; and, whether or not instituted in 1703-4, it was evidently not instituted later than that year. Askew, speaking of this bell in 1872, says it was designated by the townspeople the "evening bell." That is not what the sexton says it was designated. He told me it was called the "supper bell": and it is so called in the churchwardens' accounts as far back as 1716-7:—

Nov Ale when began to ring supper bell.. .. 6d.

It is not to be supposed that a church bell, whatever it may have come to be called, was originally rung for supper. But many a bell, which had once a dignified title, indicative of its true origin, has in course of time assumed

assumed an undignified alias. Thus at Brigham the "Knolling of the Aves" degenerated into the "Oven Bell;'; and the curfew has often gone by strange names. At Cockermouth it seems to have taken at least eleven years to foist upon the "seven o'clock" or "evening" bell the name of the "supper" bell, or at all events to get that name into the churchwardens' accounts. Perhaps it took more than eleven years to bring this about: for we have not yet arrived at a decision about the "seven a clock" bell of 1695-6. One thing is clear; that, whatever "seven a clock" in the item of that year may mean, the payment £1 must have been for the morning bell; for the ringer of the evening bell, whatever called, seems never to have had any payment at all, except a few pence for ale on "first night" at Halloween. Perhaps he did not even get that before 1703-4, or whatever he did get was given to him by some one else than the churchwardens. But, as probably the same man rang both the morning and the evening bell, whoever posted up the accounts fo 1695-6, if the evening bell was first instituted in that year, may have made a mistake, and jumbled up the two bells together. Or, after all, seven o'clock may have been the regular hour for the morning bell. Anyhow we seem to have ascertained the period within which the evening bell must have been instituted, viz., 1695-1703. If Betty Waif was not an imaginary person, that is about the time to look for her; and the place where to look for her will be the parish register, which I have not yet seen. Then, if the year of her death should be ascertained, there would be her will to look for; which should be at Chester or York. And what if her will, snpposing it to be found, should contain no bell-ringing bequest? Must we then fall back upon the "other version", and say that the "originator" of the evening bell was a man, name unknown? No, let us still adhere to Betty Waif; whose name is something tangible in the tradition: and there is

her

her stone. She may have left no bell-ringing legacy. It does not indeed follow, because the £2 has not been forthcoming within living memory, that therefore it never was bequeathed. Legacies left for various objects formed what in those days was called the "parish stock", which was lent out at interest to several persons, and the interest was applied to the purposes indicated by the testators. Many parishes, especially town parishes, had such a "stock"; concerning which much interesting information is generally found, as at Cockermouth, in the churchwardens' accounts. Now it will be easily understood that this mode of getting interest on the "stock", owing to defalcation on the part of a borrower, sometimes resulted in total loss of one or other of the legacies. Therefore the fact of there being now no money to pay for ringing the evening bell is not conclusive evidence that no such money was ever bequeathed. But a more serious objection is the fact that there is no mention of any such bequest in the churchwardens' accounts. So I think we must give up the tradition of the legacy. Still there is no occasion on that score to give up Betty Waif. My friend Peter Burn of Brampton, in his poem, referred to by Mr. Askew, does not hamper himself with a legacy, supposed to have been lost. He represents the lady as not waiting to shew posthumous gratitude for her rescue from a night on Slate Fell, but as encouraging the ringer, by liberal reward during the rest of her life, to keep the bell going:

> And now through Autumn and Winter
> The bell from the spire was heard.

He further assumes that, once set regularly going, the bell was continued after her death, by the influence of her example both on the ringers and on the parishioners:—

> And hands are ready to labour,
> And hearts are ready to give.

But

But a question arises: If there was no curfew at Cockermouth, and the lady was the "originator" of the evening bell, what was the bell she heard whilst sitting on the stone? Mr. Burn is equal to the occasion. Speaking of the lady's gratitude to the ringer, he says:—

> To the bellman gold and silver
> She ever was wont to bring;
> And each evening found him ringing
> The bell he had chanced to ring.

Peter here entrenches himself in a strong position. He must, as a poet, have been tempted to go in boldy for the curfew. But doubtless he reflected that some such unpoetical critic as myself might arise who would perhaps shew that there was no curfew at Cockermouth. So he judiciously fell back on the bell ringer "who had chanced to ring". From this ground he cannot be dislodged. That an evening bell was rung at Cockermouth during the winter months for close upon 200 years is beyond dispute; and the very fact that no such bell having been regularly rung before the end of the 17th century, with nothing else to account for its then beginning, not only tells in favour of the only explanation ever advanced of its origin, but also confirms Mr. Burn's hypothesis that what Betty Waif heard, on the occasion of her memorable adventure, was a casual or at all events exceptional bell. But even an exception is sometimes according to rule. It has a rule of its own; which, if discovered disposes of the apparent antagonism to the rule to which it had been regarded as an exception. The primary rule, in the present case, is that there was no regular evening bell at Cockermouth, which Betty Waif could have heard. What bell, then, supposing she heard one at all, did she hear? I venture to suggest that she may have heard the "Gunpowder Treason" bell or bells; which, being rung in November, exactly meet the demands of the case. Here

I take leave of the subject, trusting that I have not laid myself open to the imputation of having sought to undermine the popular belief in the interesting legend of the Cockermouth "evening bell". But it must be admitted that, if I had been guilty of any such nefarious design, and had even succeeded in demolishing the legend, the people of Cockermouth would have had no ground for complaint, inasmuch as they have allowed the bell itself to be abolished. The determining cause of its abolition is not far to seek. "Too many cooks", says the proverb, "spoil the broth"; and so, when it had come to "ringers eight in number mounting the tower weekly by turns to ring", the bell was sure to come to grief. However that may have been, let us hope that we may not next hear of "Betty Waif's stone" being broken up as metal for mending the roads.

My reference to "Gunpowder Treason Day" reminds me to notice the "rejoicing peals" recorded in the old account book. No day but the 5th of November holds its ground from beginning to end of the book. Even the 29th of May, which in many parishes of some parts of England is still commemorated by ringing, ceased to be so observed at Cockermouth after the death of Charles II; which occurred on February 6th, 1684-5. The bells then ring in his brother and successor:—

To the Ringers at the King's Proclamation 0 3 0

They ring another peal on April 23rd, 1685, when James is crowned:—

ffor ringing on the K: Cor: day 0 2 0

They continue during his reign to observe this day, together with the 5th of November; for which latter day, however, in 1688, they significantly get extra remuneration; though they could not then have heard of the Prince of

of Orange's landing at Torbay. No matter; perhaps they were expecting him. The ringing for the year 1688-9, which for parish affairs ended at Easter, 1689, was on this wise:—

To the Ringers the 5 November	0	4	0
Pd the Ringers for ringing of thankesguiving daie and Kings proclamation	0	6	0
Pd for Ringing the Kings Coronation	0	3	0

Occasionally in this reign (William III) they observe "ye Kings birthday", as well as the anniversary of his coronation; nor do they omit to celebrate his victories:—

1690-1	Pd to the Ringers att ye happy news of Taking of Dublin	0	4	0
1691-2	Pd to ye ringers of ye takeing of Athlone	0	3	0
	Pd to ye ringers of ye takeing of Limerick	0	4	0
	Pd to ye ringers upon ye News of ye happy return of ye King to England	0	3	0
1692-3	Pd ye ringers for news of victory over ffrench fleet	0	4	0

King William died on March 8th, 1701-2; for which year, ending at Easter 1702, there are the following entries:—

For Ayle to Ringers uppon the Queen's proclamation & corronation	0	5	0
ffor Ringing uppon the 25th of November & uppon King Willms Returne from Holland upon the Queens proclamation and coronation & on the Kings death att 2s 6d p day	0	10	6

What was in the space left blank in this entry I cannot say; for there is here a hole in the page, doubtless made by the proverbial "church mouse", as it goes right through the last 30 leaves of the book, cover and all. Nor, whatever there was here, do I understand how "2s. 6d. per day" for five days amounts only to 10s. 6d.

But

But the churchwardens in that year seem to have got somewhat confused in their reckoning, not only of money, but also of time, inserting King William's return between the ale and ringing for Queen Anne's proclamation, and again the Queen's proclamation between the King's return and his death. They have certainly contrived to bring home to us with great force the constitutional maxim: "The King is dead. Long live the King!" They come and go, kings and queens, like humbler folk.

Rectors and vicars, too, come and go; but no items for ringing them in or out occur in the churchwardens' accounts. Indeed they ring themselves in; and a prevalent superstition assigns them as many years of incumbency as they give pulls to the "induction bell". Mr. Rickerby, if this were so, must have applied himself with exceptional vigour to the bell rope; for, whereas he rang himself in before the time of the Commonwealth, he did not die till 1699. Not one of the local historians gives the date of his induction; though Hutchinson (II, 218) seems to hint that it was 1640. His old antagonist, George Larkham, the Commonwealth vicar, did not long survive him. He (Mr. Larkham) lived at Tallantire, where the Cockermouth nonconformists attended his ministrations, until James II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1687 permitted him to preach in Cockermouth, where he died in 1700. Of Mr. Rickerby we find but few traces in the churchwardens' book. Two or three items of expenditure in 1668-9-0, are mentioned as incurred "by Mr. Rickerbie's order"; he occasionally wrote the "presentments"; and once, in 1678, he signed his name to the accounts. In later years his name does not again occur; and that of his curate "Mr. Noble" comes to the fore.

The parish register, as I have said, I have not yet seen. Its earliest extant volume, which begins at 1632, might enable us to ascertain the date of Mr. Rickerby's induction

tion. The parish inventory, written each year by the churchwardens, mentions older register books, still existing at the end of the 17th century. I here subjoin the first and last entries relating to them in the oldest extant churchwardens' book :—

1668-9 One new Reidgster Book Two ould Register Bookes
1702-3 One new Register Book with 2 old ones.

The inventory also has frequent reference to

One old book of Accompts.

It is to be regretted that this old book of accounts cannot now be found. If ever I again take up the story of Cockermouth church bells, instead of beginning where I now leave off, I would prefer to end where this paper began.

CROSTHWAITE.

The present peal of Crosthwaite church consists of the following bells :—

No.	Note.	Diameter.	Date.	Founders.
1	E	28 inches	1882	Warner & Son
2	D♯	29 ,,	1775	Pack & Chapman
3	C♯	30 ,,	1775	Pack & Chapman
4	B	32½ ,,	1775	Pack & Chapman
5	A	35 ,,	1882	Warner & Son
6	G♯	38 ,,	1775	Pack & Chapman
7	F♯	40 ,,	1882	Warner & Son
8	E	44 ,,	1882	Warner & Son

The treble (No. 1) weighs about 4¼ cwt., the tenor (No. 8) about 15 cwt., and the rest in proportion, the weight of a bell being approximately known from its diameter at mouth

mouth. (Warner's *Bell Catalogue*). The treble and tenor are entirely new. Nos. 5 and 7 are recast from the metal of two of the peal cast in 1775 at the Whitechapel foundry by Pack and Chapman. The six Whitechapel Bells were a famous peal in their day, superior to any neighbouring peal in the estimation of Crosthwaite and Keswick folk, who thus accounted for the alleged pre-eminence :—

The tradition is that there were three sets of six bells each, cast by Pack and Chapman for Penrith, Cockermouth, and Keswick—some say there were four sets, adding Workington—and that Dr. Brownrigg, who built Ormathwaite, and was one of the chief residents here, gave £10 10s. to the collection on the condition that Keswick had the first pick of the three, or four sets, as the case may have been, and that this accounts for the Crosthwaite bells being of a sweeter tone than either those at Penrith, or those which were destroyed when All Saints Church, Cockermouth, was burned down. *Crosthwaite Parish Magazine*, October, 1882.

The Workington bells were undoubtedly cast in 1775 by Pack and Chapman. But the Penrith bells, as may be seen from their inscriptions, were cast by Lester and Pack in 1763. In what year the late Cockermouth bells were cast there is nothing to show. But the present proprietor of the Whitechapel foundry has a list of bells cast by his predecessors, with the peals recorded in the order in which they were cast, but without any dates appended, in which, whilst Workington stands next to Keswick, a dozen peals intervene between Workington and Cockermouth ; from which he infers that the Cockermouth bells must have been cast a few years later than those of Keswick and Workington. Thus the above mentioned tradition shorn of its application to Penrith, and probably of its application to Cockermouth, must be content with keeping what hold it can on Workington.

Another bell story also needs reconsideration. The bell given to the vicar of Crosthwaite by Mr. Robert Ferguson, F.S.A., was thus described in the catalogue of

of the loan collection exhibited during Church Congress week at Carlisle :—" Ancient bell, formerly belonging to Crosthwaite Church, Cumberland ". No doubt Mr. Ferguson received this description with the bell when it came into his possession. Mr. Christopherson, who sold it to Mr. Wake, by whom it was sold to Mr. Ferguson, says that he bought it from a travelling dealer, and has never alleged or supposed that it once belonged to Crosthwaite Church. It may have, if we only knew it, an interesting history. But we do not know it, and are not likely to know it. It seems ancient; but, it is blank, *i.e.*, without inscription or stamp of any kind, so that no idea can be formed of its probable age. It is small enough—only 8 inches in diameter at mouth and weighing only 13 lbs—to have been a sanctus or sacring bell. But few such bells survived the reign of Elizabeth, when they were mostly destroyed as "monuments of superstition". Some were sold, and being generally blank soon lost all trace of their original character. It so happens that we know the very year (1571) in which the church authorities of Crosthwaite were ordered by the bishop (Barnes) of Carlisle " to sell before the first day of December of the aforesaid year all the Popish relics and monuments of superstition and idolatry, as presently remain in the said parish, of the church or parish goods " (Whelan's *Cumberland*, p. 334). Whelan, who does not state where he saw the document containing this order, gives a long list of things commanded to be sold, amongst which were " three hand belles " ; also " two silver chalices ", in place of which were to be provided " two decent communion cups ".

It is worth while in this connection to notice that the communion cup still in use at Loweswater bears the date 1571; from which it may be inferred that similar orders were issued by Bishop Barnes to other parishes. No doubt it was then that the "iij litill belles" of Loweswater, mentioned in Edward VI's Inventory, disappeared. Unfortunately

fortunately Crosthwaite is one of the churches the names of which have been torn off from the Cumberland portion of this inventory. But, approximately knowing their places in the inventory, in which the Cumberland churches are arranged according to the county wards, we are able to recognise the Crosthwaite list of church goods in one which mentions "iij prch (parish) iij litill belles". The "iij litill belles" we identify with the "three handbells" subsequently sold in 1571. The "iij prch belles" doubtless, like other Cumberland parish bells, survived not only the confiscations of the reign of Edward, but the iconoclasm of that of Elizabeth; though why such bells, with their inscribed invocations to saints, escaped destruction in Elizabeth's reign as "monuments of superstition", can only be explained upon the supposition that no one knew what the inscriptions were; which is likely enough, seeing how many custodians of mediæval bells to this day are altogether ignorant of the inscriptions they bear. The "iij prch belles" then, of which we catch a momentary glance in 1552, may have been identical with three Crosthwaite church bells, the items for ringing of which, in the reign of Queen Anne, appear in the earliest extant pages of the churchwardens's accounts. The ringing at that time seems to have been confined to "ye Sabath Days". There is no record of "rejoicing peals", as at Penrith and other places, for royal anniversaries. Even "ye Gunpowder Day" had no other recognition in the Crosthwaite churchwardens' accounts than this:—"Spent in Ale on ye 5th November at Nich Graves o 5 o". At one time and another a good deal was spent in ale at the house (evidently a public house) of Nicholas Graves, who was, as recorded on his tombstone, "clerk of this parish 56 years". Probably the ringers came in for a fair share of the ale. If they did ring on the 5th of November, then it would seem they were paid in ale. Their wage in money was little enongh, only 4s. each a year. But they eked

eked it out by doing odd jobs about the church, impartially distributed among them by the churchwardens. One of them, Gyles *Z*inogle, bore a name evidently foreign to Cumberland. A descendant of one of the "German miners" mentioned by Mr. J. Fisher Crosthwaite, in his paper on the Crosthwaite Registers, "settling here in the reign of Elizabeth", he had the good fortune to live at a time when his family name had not yet degenerated, as found by Mr. Crosthwaite in a later generation, into "Snoggles". His principal achievement was taking charge of "ye great bell", at least as far as Whitehaven, when it went in 1714 to be recast at Dublin. The items of expenditure for the voyage and recasting, which occupy a whole page of the churchwardens' book, will be found *in extenso* in a paper contributed by Mr. Crosthwaite to this Society's Transactions, vol. viii, p. 48, to which reference should be made. In our day it would seem strange to send a bell to be recast at Dublin. But in those days it was easier and cheaper to send a heavy bell to Dublin than to London. To London itself, fifty years later, the old Penrith bells went by sea, viâ Newcastle, and their successors came from London by the same route. The payment of a fourth ringer in 1729 is the only hint the churchwardens give in their accounts of the addition in that year of a new member to the Crosthwaite peal; which must, therefore, have been a gift. The peal, thus reinforced, doubtless by a new treble, remained until superseded in 1775 by the six Whitechapel bells; the arrival of which, as they were not paid for by a rate, receives no other notice in the churchwarden's book than had been accorded to the new treble in 1729. For many interesting particulars concerning the Whitechapel peal of six, and the present mixed peal of eight, the reader is referred to the late vicar's * papers in

* The Rev. Canon Richmond.

the

the Parish Magazine, and to Mr. Crosthwaite's paper just mentioned. It only remains to conclude our notice of the old bells with the following description of them from the terrier of 1749 :—

Four Bells with their frames the least thought to weigh about Six Hundred the Second about Seven Hundred and the Third about Eight Hundred and the biggest about eleven hundred."

Yet something else, we would fain hope, may still remain to be told, if we can but recover it, concerning those old bells. Tradition says that two of them went to Whitehaven. But tradition, we have seen, is not infallible. Doubtless it has often a germ of truth. The old bells may, all four of them, have gone to Whitehaven, but not to remain there. They may have gone viâ Whitehaven, like the old Penrith bells viâ Newcastle, by sea to London, there to be relegated to the Whitechapel furnace. Let us hope that such was not their fate, and that investigation of Whitehaven belfries may result in adding another chapter to the story of the old Crosthwaite bells.

DISTINGTON.

There are two bells here, in a double cot on the west gable of the old church :— *

	Note.	Diameter.	Weight.
Treble.	C	1ft. 4in.	1 cwt.
Tenor.	B♭	1ft. 7in.	1¾ cwt.

The treble has, in rather small Lombardic letters, this legend :

+ SANCTE ⁝ CUDBERTE ⁝
ORA ⁝ PRO * * * NOBIS
♣ U C ♣

* NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—This Account was written in 1885.

The

The initial cross seems in the rubbing a plain Greek cross. The intervening stop is three roundlets between two perpendicular lines. The asterisks given above represent a stamp which consists of four perpendicular lines, inclosing three diamonds, with a horizontal line laterally bisecting them; and the same stamp occurs in six places above the legend. The letters U C, which are larger than the other letters, have a stamp (apparently a flower) on each side of them. These two letters are considered by Mr. Stahlschmidt, to whom the rubbings have been forwarded, as the initials of the founder; the U, as in the word UESTMORLAND on the old town clock bell at Carlisle, standing for W. What was the name or locality of this founder it is impossible to say. His lettering seems to be identical with that on the old Loweswater tenor, now in Crosthwaite parish room, and considered from its lack of space, stop, or mark of any kind between its words, to be an early 14th century bell. Mr. Stahlschmidt thinks that the presence of such marks on the Distington treble, and especially "the insertion of the ornament between PRO and NOBIS" indicate "later work than Loweswater". He notes also that the U at Distington is of different type from the rest of the lettering, probably indicating the founder as "a successor of the founder of the Loweswater tenor", the set of type being imperfect when he succeeded to the business. It is to be remarked, however, that, as there is no U in the Loweswater inscription, we do not as yet know what kind of U would have been used, if wanted, in that inscription. One other remark it may be worth while to make, viz., that the Distington U, which is a very curious letter, is identical with the U in ERASMUS on the second bell at Greystoke*; which, by the way, is unlike any other U in that long and puzzling

* These *Transactions*, vol. xi, pp. 134-151.

inscription.

inscription. There is nothing more to be noted at present concerning the Distington treble, except that the S in SANCTE is reversed, as in SANCTA at Loweswater; and the last letter in NOBIS at Distington can only be identified as S by its position, apparently owing to some injury in the stamp.

The tenor has, in much larger Lombardic letters, not at all resembling those on the treble, the following inscription:

+ SANCTE + CHRISTOFORE +

"Very quaint indeed", says Mr. Stahlschmidt, "as regards lettering". It is no use attempting to describe the letters, some of which are altogether unlike anything that has yet come come under my notice. The cross seems the same as on the treble; yet, if closely examined, might be found to be somewhat different, as crosses often do not come out well in rubbings. If it should be found that the same kind of cross is on both bells, it will be reasonable to infer that they are from the same foundry, and perhaps of the same date, notwithstanding the difference of their lettering. There were often at the same foundry different kinds of type for large and small capitals; as may be seen from the two inscriptions, both Lombardic, but differing from each other in character of type, on the second bell at Dacre.

It is therefore to be desired that, when the bells are being removed, casts should be taken of their crosses, stamps, and some of their letters; and, for guidance of those who may be at hand during the removal, I will here state what casts will suffice. For the treble RA : PRO ***N, and U C + ×. For the tenor × SANTE. Both of the bells should also then be photographed; as there is something to be learned concerning the age of a bell from its shape.*

* NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—It is to be feared the opportunity was lost: this paper was in print in a newspaper in 1885. See note at end.

These

These two bells, interesting in themselves as relics of mediæval times, have the further interest of affording additional proof that none of the bells of Cumberland churches were confiscated by Edward VI's commissioners who reported as belonging to Distington in 1552

ij prch belles ij litill belles.

The "ij litill belles", no doubt, whether sanctus, sacring, or hand bells, were removed in accordance with the injunctions in the reign of Elizabeth. But the "ij prch (parish) belles" of 1552 are beyond doubt identical with the pair that still remain.

The dedication of Distington church is unknown; and the rector asks whether any light is thrown upon this point by the bell inscriptions. It is likely enough that they do afford a clue to the dedication; though it would be very unsafe to give an affirmative answer to such a question in any of the southern or midland counties. In Cumberland, however, such evidence as has yet come to hand seems to point to the inference that it was the rule to dedicate one of the bells to the patron saint of the church. But, if so, it still remains to be settled which of the two Distington bells bears the name of the church's saint. Formerly it would have been said that St. Christopher must needs be the tutelar saint of the church, as his name is on the tenor. But that is now an exploded theory, clearly seen in many cases to be erroneous, as at St. Michael's, Burgh by Sands, where St. Michael's name occurs on the treble. If, then, the Distington dedication may be assigned to one of the two saints whose names are on the bells, there can be no doubt that Cumberland antiquaries will be unanimous in assigning it to St. Cuthbert, to whom as many as sixteen churches in the county are dedicated, whilst there is not one to St. Christopher. By the way, I must not omit to mention that to Mr. Stahlschmidt is due the credit of identifying the name

name on the treble as CUDBERT. The first letter had been thought by others, including myself, to be E; and we thought the name was a bungling version of Hubert. But, when once suggested, it is not difficult to see that the name is Cudbert.

It is very probable that if the southern part of Cumberland and the whole of Westmorland were to be thoroughly explored they would be found to possess a larger percentage of mediæval bells than any other part of England; and it is to be hoped that other rectors and vicars will follow Mr. Hodgson's example, and ascertain what inscriptions their church bells bear.

Of "peculiar usages" there are at Distington (1) the death knell, without indication of sex or age; (2) the after-burial bell; (3) the sermon bell, "rung during the hymn after matins when there is no communion", probably the only survival of its kind in the diocese; and (4) the sacrament bell, formerly rung after the sermon, but transferred by the present rector to "the commencement of the communion office".

HOLME CULTRAM.

A double cot on the west gable of Holme Abbey, contains two bells: one of which 27 inches in diameter, weighs about 4½ cwt: the other is 21 inches in diameter, weight about 2¼ cwt.

The larger of the two is inscribed :—

PACK AND CHAPMAN, LONDON, FECIT, 1771.
CHURCHWARDENS
JOSEPH THOMPSON SAMUEL PATTINSON
THOMAS SALKELD INO ROBINSON

This bell is from the Whitechapel foundry, the successive proprietors of which, during the last 140 years, may be almost

almost continuously traced from inscriptions on bells in this neighbourhood. Thomas Lester, when sole proprietor, recast the Hexham ring in 1742: Lester and Pack the Penrith ring in 1763; Pack and Chapman, the founders (in 1771) of the Holme Cultram bell, cast the Lanercost bell in 1773, and recast the Crosthwaite (Keswick) ring in 1775; W. and T. Mears cast a bell for Egremont in 1788: Thomas Mears the Brampton ring in 1826 and the Talkin bell in 1842: C. and G. Mears the Edmond Castle bell in 1847: Mears and Co. the St. Stephen's (Carlisle) ring in 1864; and Mears and Stainbank the St. Cuthbert (Carlisle) bell in 1876. Of the work of Thomas Lester's predecessors, from Robert Moate downwards, no specimen has hereabouts yet come to light.

But a bell cast by Robert Moate himself, who died in 1608, would be junior by more than a century to that which shares with Pack and Chapman's bell the double cot at Holme Abbey. This interesting relic of mediæval times bears, in small black letter, running quite round, the following inscription:—

ihs : thomas : york : abbas : de : holm
cu · dominio : anno dni · mill.cccc.lxv :

The inscription is surmounted throughout by trefoil ornament. Below the date is what seems to be the founder's stamp, unlike any given by Mr. North or Dr. Raven, three griffins passant, the middle one to dexter, the other two sinister, inclosed in a rectangular oblong. A dated mediæval bell is a rarity. Three bells of the ancient Hexham ring bore date 1404 (*Handbook to Hexham*, by Jas. Hewitt, p. 100). But the earliest dated bell in Rutland is post-reformation (*North* p. 39). Dr. Raven says:—

To what cause the absence of dates on our mediæval bells is due is a great mystery; but the fact remains. There is not a dated ante-Reformation bell in Cambridgeshire, which runs very short in mediæval specimens *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*, p. 12).

For

For reasons already given in these papers it may be hoped the number of mediæval bells in Cumberland will be found to be above the average of other counties; and their inscriptions, when in Gothic capitals, as at Cumrew, may be indicative of a period earlier even than that of the small black letter inscription at Holme Cultram: but we can scarcely expect to find in Cumberland another dated pre-Reformation bell. The dated inscription now before us is of special value, as it recovers a long forgotten name, and informs us where to place it in the incomplete list of the abbots of Holme Cultram, thus given by Bishop Tanner:—

HOLME CULTRAM ABOTTS.—Everard 1175, died 1192. Gregory 1192. William resigned 1215. Adam elected 1215. Hugh elected 1223. Gilbert died 1237. John 1237, died 1255. Henry 1255. Gervasse 1278. Robert 1292. William de Redekar 1434. Robert Chamber 1507 and 1518. *Notitia Monastica*, 2nd ed., p. xxxix).

Mr. C. Ferguson in his paper on Holme Abbey (*Cumberland and Westmorland Transactions*, vol. 1, p. 268), quoting from Willis, omits Gervasse, inserts a second Everard (undated) after Adam, a second Gregory (undated) after Robert, and adds Gawin Borrowdale, the last abbot, who, on the suppression of the monastery in 1538, became the first vicar of Holme Cultram, the parishioners having presented the following petition to Henry VIII's Vicar-General:—

That it might please your Lordship to be a meane for us to our Soveregne Lorde the Kynge for the preservation and standynge of the Church of Holme Coltram before saide whiche is not onely unto us our parish Churche and little ynoughe to receyve all us your poore orators but also a greate ayde socor and defence for us agenst our neighbors the Scots (*ib.* p. 270).

To the granting of this petition the Holme Abbey bells owed their escape from the fate which overtook the bells

bells of the monasteries at Shap, Carlisle, Wetheral, Appleby, and Penrith. Their number is shown in the following extract from Edward VI's Inventory of Church Goods in 1552, the missing portion of which, torn off from the original MS. on the right hand side, is here restored, as far as possible, in italics :—

Church of Holme Coltram	Itm one chales of silvr one . . . iij vestments iij copes ij tu*nycles* . alterclothes iij towels iij sur*pclothes* iij bells iij handbells one *holy water* ffat of brasse ij latten can*dilstiks*.

In 1553 a commission was issued for the confiscation of all church goods not considered necessary for divine service, when two of the above mentioned " iij bells ", if the commission was strictly executed, were converted to "ye Kynges use ". But such evidence as has yet come to hand points to the inference that in many places, perhaps everywhere in Cumberland, the commissioners, so far as the bells were concerned, did not fully carry out their instructions. The Cumberland Commissioners, for instance, when called to account, in 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, for their proceedings in Edward's reign, returned a " scedule " of " plate jewelles and ornaments " seized by them in 1553, but made no mention of bells ; a significant omission when regarded with reference to their instructions as to " plate juels *bells* and ornaments " *(MSS. in Record Office)*. Whellan, writing in 1860, in his account of Greystoke church, says (p. 543) :—

There are four very ancient bells, with inscriptions round them.

Bishop Nicolson, who was fond of deciphering inscriptions, would no doubt, had he seen the bells when he visited Greystoke in 1704, have given a complete account of them.

But the tower was " crack'd " and looked "threatening," and therefore he contented himself with hearing them, when

when he pronounced them to be "pretty tuneable" (Bp. N., p. 131). Perhaps some antiquary will tell us the true story of these bells, which, if all four of them be really "very ancient", will confirm the supposition that the Cumberland church bells were left unmolested by Edward VI's commissioners.* The Holme Abbey bells, however, if they survived not only the dissolution of monasteries in 1538, but also the spoliation of parish churches in 1553, had other and not less formidable dangers yet to encounter.

In 1600, on the 1st of January, the steeple of the church, being of the height of nineteen fathoms, suddenly to the ground, and by the fall brought down a great part of the church, both timber, lead, and walls. In 1602-3 the tower was rebuilt, and on the 18th of April, 1604, it was burnt down by one Christopher Hardon carrying a live coal into the roof. (*C. and W. Archæological Transactions*, vol. i., p. 274.)

If on one or both of these occasions the bells fell with the tower, it is a matter for surprise that even one of them escaped destruction. Yet the terrier of 1749 has this entry:—

Two bells with their frames, the less thought to weigh about five hundred weight, and the bigger about seven hundred weight.

Accuracy is not a characteristic of terrier weights. Therefore, as it is evident that "the less" of these two bells, which must needs be identified with Abbot York's bell, was "thought" to be more than double its real weight, we may doubt whether "the bigger" was correctly thought to be "about seven hundred weight." Perhaps 4½ cwt. would be nearer the mark, that being the weight of its successor, for which it may have supplied the metal, pro-

* NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—Mr. Whitehead has himself told the story of the Greystoke Bells: see these *Transactions* vol. xi, pp. 134 to 151.

badly

bably being itself cracked, and therefore ordered to be recast in 1771: and, if so, it is well that it was at least big enough to supply all the metal that was required for the new bell, else Pack and Chapman, as at Lanercost two years later, might have been directed to found both the old bells into one, and Thomas York's bell, after surviving the dissolution of the monasteries, the spoliation of the parish churches, the falling of the abbey tower, and the burning of the abbey itself, would have been relegated, like many of its mediæval contemporaries—*e.g.*, the famous bells of King's College Chapel(*Raven*, p. 58)—to the Whitechapel furnace. It may still be in some danger. The Rev. W. F. Gilbanks, to whom we are indebted for the inscriptions and diameters of the Holme Cultram bells, writes :—

> The mediæval bell has a good note of A when struck, but the present mode of ringing, which allows the clapper to stay too long on the bell, together with the want of canons, necessitating iron straps, at present badly fitted, causes it almost to seem cracked.

Improper modes of ringing have much to answer for. The Trinity (Carlisle) bell was cracked through being rung with a cord tied to the clapper. The old St. Cuthbert's (Carlisle) bell was cracked in the same way. The same mode of ringing, still adhered to at St. Cuthbert's, will probably sooner or later prove fatal to the present bell; for which, however, a successor, of equal diameter, and not much less antiquity, can easily be found. But a bell like that of Holme Cultram

> when once destroyed can never be supplied.

Thus ends, so far as it has yet been possible to trace it, the story of the eventful career and hair-breadth escapes of what is probably the most interesting bell in the county of Cumberland.

But

But among the multifarious papers relating to the abbey, some of which are in the parish chest and others in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, there may be documents which would throw further light on the history of the abbey bells, and in particular on the casting of them, if not by the monks themselves, at all events under their superintendence, after the manner thus described by Mr. North :—

In the middle ages, when roads were bad, and locomotion difficult, bells were frequently cast within the precincts of religious houses and in churchyards, the clergy or monks standing around and reciting prayers and chanting psalms. . . . . During excavations in the churchyard of Stafford, Leicestershire, some years ago, indications of the former existence of a furnace for the casting of the church bells there were discovered, and a mass of bell-metal was found, which had clearly been in a state of fusion on the spot, and a similar discovery was made about four years ago in the churchyard of Emmpingham, Rutland. (*Church Bells of Rutland*, pp. 10, 11).

Sometimes bells were cast within the church itself. Dr. Raven, after mentioning the fall of the central tower of Ely cathedral in 1322, says :—

A little more than twenty years after this we find great works in bell casting going on in the cathedral under the superintendence of Alan de Walsingham, prior, and Robarte Aylesh'm, sacrist. (*Church Bells of Cambridgeshire, p.* 5.)

Of these "great works in bell casting" at Ely no traces now remain but the grooves worn by the bell ropes, discovered by the present bishop of Carlisle, when he was dean of Ely (*ib.* p. 8). But from the role of the sacrist Dr. Raven has transcribed the account for the "works," from which it appears that the bells, four in number, one of which was called "Walsynghame", after the prior, were cast by one "Master John of Gloucester." Some one may yet discover the name of the founder and the account

account for the casting of the Holme Abbey bells. Meanwhile it is a matter for satisfaction that one of them, more fortunate than the bells of Master John, still survives, in its fifth century, to preserve the name of Abbot Thomas York.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—The accounts of the Brigham, Cockermouth, Crosthwaite, Distington, and Holm Cultram Bells are reproduced from various newspapers, in which they had been printed under Mr. Whitehead's supervision, some of them so long ago as 1885. They lack, therefore, the final revision, which Mr. Whitehead intended to give them, in the light of increased information. See footnote *ante* p. 256.

ART. XVIII.—*Aske's Rebellion*, 1536-7. BY GEORGE WATSON, Penrith.

Communicated at Coniston, Sept. 16th, 1896.

THE purpose of this paper is to gather from the State Records the story of the part Westmorland and Cumberland took in the great rising in 1536-7, in the reign of Henry VIII, variously styled "The Northern Rebellion," "Aske's Rebellion," and "The Pilgrimage of Grace."

It is, however, desirable to review, briefly, the origin of the rising, to understand fully the part which Westmorland and Cumberland took.

King Henry, in his zeal for the subversion of papal authority in England, obtained despotic power from Parliament for the suppression of monasteries, and for the levying of money upon all classes of his subjects; these severities, added to his vexatious prohibition of popular holidays, aroused a storm of indignation which burst into open revolt on the 3rd day of October, 1636, as detailed in the following extracts.

The records are extracted from the Calendars of State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII, for the years 1536-7, edited by Gardner; references are made in connection with each article, stating dates (when given), and the Calendar number.

The public records, however, give only fragmentary accounts of the rising in Westmorland and Cumberland, and it is not until peace was restored and the three prominent leaders in these counties were on their trial in the Tower of London, that we get from their depositions anything like a consecutive history of the rebellion in the two counties.

The

The account of the first rising in Lincolnshire is from Calendars of State Papers, vol. XI, 1536.

THOMAS LORD BURGH TO HENRY VIII.

[Cal. No. 533. 3rd Oct.]

Sir William Askew, and other your Grace's commissioners of your subsidy appointed to sit at Caster this Tuesday requiring me, Sir Robert Tyrwytt, and others to be with them; suddenly came thereby a great multitude of people from Loweth, and was within a mile of us. Thereupon the inhabitants made us a direct answer that they would pay no more silver, and caused the bells to be rung "a larome". There was no remedy but to return to our houses, and the people so fast pursued that they have taken Sir Robt. Tyrwytt, Sir William Askew, Thomas Portyngton, Sir Thomas Messendyn, Thomas Mowne, with other gentlemen. I hear the commonalty increase to them "and I fear will do more, because they have taken the gentlemen who have the governance in those parts under your Highness." I have sent to my lord Steward, the lord Darssy, and others to be in readiness "to make them a breakfast." Sanby, Tuesday night, 3 Oct.

SIR ROBT TYRWHYT AND THREE OTHERS TO HENRY VIII.

[Cal. No. 534.]

This 3rd October we, by your commission for levying your second payment of your subsidy, were assembled in Caster, Linc. There were at our coming within a mile of the town 20,000 of your "true and faithful subjects" assembled because the report went that all jewels and goods of the churches were to be taken away to your Grace's Council, and people put to new charges. They swore us to be true to your Grace and to take their parts and then conveyed us from Caster to Louth, 12 miles distant, where we remain till they know further of your gracious pleasure. Desire a general pardon, "or else we be in such danger that we be never like to see your Grace nor our own houses," as the bearer can show, for whom we beg credence. Your said subjects have desired us to write that they are at your command "for the defence of your person or your realm." Signed: Robt. Tyrwhyt, William Ayscugh, Edward Madeson, Thomas Portyngton.

G. EARL

G. EARL OF SHREWSBYRY TO HENRY VIII.

[Cal. No. 536.]

This morning one Meryng of Sonbye, Notts., came to me from lord Burrowe to show me that your commons about Horne Castle were assembled to the number of 3,000. The assembly began on Saturday last, and yesterday they sent to my lord Burrowe to be their captain or else they would pull him out of his house at Gaynysburrowe this day, whereupon he came by night to Meryng's house. They had taken your commissioners of subsidy, viz., Sir Wm. Askewe, Tyrwyt, and Skypwyth, knights, and Turney and Portyngton, esquires, and sworn them to be true to Horne Castle and them. Also they had taken your Grace's surveyors at the priory of Lowth park, Linc., and burnt their books before their faces. I had no notice in writing, but he that brought me the message is a substantial gentleman. Begs to know what to do. At my poor lodge in Shefeld Park, 4 Oct. Signed: "G. Shrouesbury."

CHR. ASCUGH, GENTLEMAN USHER TO THE KING, TO CROMWELL.

[1536, 6 Oct. Cal. No. 567]

Has been as far as he could without being taken by the insurgents. They number 10,000 or 12,000 spears, well harnessed and 30,000 others, some harnessed and some not. They are this night at Lincoln, "and there prepared for." The country rises wholly as they go before them. Thinks lord Hosey will be taken to-night or to-morrow by noon, for he dare not stir, and none of his tenants will rise for him. The journeymen will not abide with their masters, and no one is left in the towns who can bear harness.

About Stamforthe, Spalldyng, and Peterborough they are very faint in rising against the rebels. Advises that the gentlemen should have commissions to charge the people to rise and certify them that the King would come down. Hears that they murmur among themselves that if they hold not together they will be undone, for it is reported that they shall pay the third part of their goods to the King and be sworn what they are worth, and if they swear untruly other men will have their goods. Some of them have gone to Gainsborough, and say they will burn lord Borugh's house and all the town unless he comes in again, for he escaped by reason of a good horse, and his man was slain. They have hanged Mellessent, Cromwell's servant, baited Bellowe to death with dogs, with bull skin upon his back, with many rigorous words against Cromwell.

ARTICLES

ARTICLES ADDRESSED BY THE REBELS "TO THE KING, OUR SOVEREIGN LORD."

[1536. Cal. No. 705.]

1. By the suppression of so many religious houses the service of God is not well performed and the people unrelieved. 2. They desire the repeal of the Act of Uses, which restrains the liberty of the people in the declaration of their wills concerning their lands, as well in payment of their debts, doing the King service, and helping their children. 3. The tax or "quindezine" payable next year is leviable of sheep and cattle, which are now in manner utterly destroyed "in the said shire." The people will therefore be obliged to pay 4d. for a beast and 12d. for 20 sheep, which will be an "importunate" charge considering their poverty and losses these two years past. 4. The King takes of his Council, and has about him, persons of low birth and small reputation, who have procured these things for their own advantage, whom we suspect to be lord Cromwell and Sir Ric. Riche, Chancellor of the Augmentations. 5. Are grieved that there are bishops of the King's late promotion, who have subverted the faith of Christ, viz., the bishops of Canterbury, Rochester, Worcester, Salisbury, St. Davids, and Dublin. Think the beginning of all this trouble was the bishop of Lincoln.

Proclamation by Robert Aske, denying that they have assembled on account of imposition laid on them, but because evil disposed persons in the King's Council intend to destroy the Church and rob the whole body of the realm. Whether this be true we put it to your conscience; and if you fight against us and win, you put both us and you and your heirs and ours in bondage for ever. Therefore if you will not come with us we will fight against you and all who stop us. "Per me Robertum Askeum, in the name of all the baronage and commonalty of the same."

OATH TAKEN BY THE INSURGENTS:—

"Ye shall not enter to this our pilgrimage of Grace for the common wealth, but only" for the maintenance of God's Faith and Church militant, preservation of the King's person and issue, and purifying the nobility of all villains' blood and evil counsellors; so to the restitution of Christ's Church and suppression of heretics' opinions, "by the holy contents of this book."

Headed: Oath of all men sworn unto them.

"A

"A REMEMBRANCE OF THINGS COMMITTED TO SIR ARTHUR DARCY, KT., TO BE DECLARED TO THE KING'S HIGHNESS."

[1536, 17 Oct. Cal. No. 760.]

(1) Where the commons before arose in the Marshland, Holdenshire, Holderness, Yorkswold, and the East Riding; they are now up in the West and North Ridings, Wenssedale, Coverdale, Swaldale, Mydderdale, Kyrkebieshire, Messhamshire, Langestorth, Craven, Cleveland, Dent, Sedbare, and all Richmondshire and Yorkshire. They are 60,000—40,000 harnessed—and march forward so that they were expected before this castle this day; 20,000 entered York yesterday, while great numbers were before Hull and Scarborough Castle. (2) They have surprised many gentlemen in their own houses and taken Sir Chr. Danbie, Sir William Malorie, John Norton, Richard Norton his heir, Roger Lassells, (Robert Bowes and Richard Bowes), Sir Ralph Ellerker, jun., Sir Oswald Willesforth, Sir Thos. Metham his son and heir, and Sir Piers Vavasor, (Sir John and Sir William Constable, of Holderness), and also lord Latymer. My lord of Cumberland, on his way to Hexham, returned for safety to Skipton Castle with lord Scrope. (3) The commons swear every man, priest and other, and charge them, on pain of death, to come to musters, where they pick out the best men. (4) They cannot be resisted, for no man can trust his tenants, and few their own servants. (5) They spare no man's goods (and say they will have the King's money wherever they find it). ((6) Many would gladly leave them but dare not). (7) The castle is wholly unfurnished and the town of Pounfreet and towns about will not aid us. The Commons stop the passages for victual. (8) We in the castle must in a few days either yield or lose our lives. Pomfret Castle 17 Oct.

"THE [FALSE] REPORT MADE IN THE NORTH COUNTRY."

[1536, 18 Oct. Cal. No. 768-2.]

1. That every man shall bring in all the gold they have, and that it shall have the touch of the Tower. 2. "That there shall be no church within five miles, and that all the rest shall be put down," and all the chalices, jewels, &c. taken. 3. That every man shall be sworn what substance he is of, and if he is worth more all his goods shall be taken. 4. No man shall eat white bread, goose, or capon without paying "a certain" to the King; 5, and a noble shall be paid ror every wedding, burying, and christening. 6. No cloth shall

shall be made, but it shall be brought to a place assigned and sealed with two seals, and "his" name set upon it, and if it go in or shrink the goods of all those shall be forfeit. These things slanderously reported through the country make every man think they shall be undone for ever.

The answer of the King to this petition was not conciliatory, and matters became daily worse. The King appointed the Duke of Norfolk his lieutenant, with very large powers, which he could with difficulty carry out, as proved by the records printed in the Calendars.

THE REBELLION IN WESTMORLAND AND CUMBERLAND.

The following letters and papers relate to the progress of the rebellion in Westmorland and Cumberland up to the end of 1536, when the proclamation of a general pardon was made, which event appears to divide the rebellion into two parts, spoken of as "before the pardon," and "after the pardon."

HENRY [CLIFFORD] EARLL OF CUMBERLAND TO HENRY VIII.

[Oct. 1536. Cal. No. 927.]

Before my last letter to your Highness I had sent my son to Berwick because it was impossible to convey him to you by policy for fear of the commons who were then up everywhere. In going to Berwick he was espied and fled to Carlisle Castle, where he lay four days unknown. Then the commons of Westmoreland and Cumberland besieged Carlisle, and the townsmen would have surrendered, but my son came forth among them and said he "would stand as my deputy their captain and jeopardy his life with them;" so they promised not to give over the town. The commons passed by for that time, but it is said they will assault it again within eight days and you know there is there neither ordnance nor powder, and the walls are putrified and down. I have continually written to your Grace, but my servants have been taken by the commons, "and lastly my lord of Norfolk took my letters, not doubting but your Grace

Grace had the same wherein I declared unto your Grace" how the commons had robbed my parks. Since then they have spoiled my houses at Bardon and Carleton, which were so strong as to take three days in breaking. They have stolen my money and destroyed my evidences, and yet threaten to slay me and my servants. At my castle ot Skypton, 31 Oct.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

[1536, 2 Nov. Cal. No. 955.]

Proclamation of a general pardon to commons dwelling north of Doncaster, who have lately commited open rebellion, tending to the ruin of the country and advancement of our ancient enemies the Scots, who, his Highness is informed, do with great readiness watch upon the same. But as their offences proceeded from ignorance his Highness has caused certain books to be sent them, by which they may see and acknowledge their errors. Any of them shall have by suit in Chancery the King's pardon under his great seal free of charge for all offences committed before 1 Nov. last. Provided always that they apprehend and deliver to the King Robert Aske, Hutton of Snape, Kichen of Beverley, William Humbler the bailiff, Henry Coke of Durham, shoemaker, Maunsell vicar of Brayton, and four others to be hereafter named, of Tynedale, Ryddesdale, the borders of Lancashire, Kendal and elsewhere, who, as ringleaders are excepted from this pardon, together with all who hereafter incite insurrection. Provided also that they declare their submission before the duke of Norfolk, or his deputies, whom the King intends with diligence to send into these parts as his lieutenant-general. Charges them to be true subjects, and make no unlawful assemblies, and in case they refuse the King will come in person "with a mayne force and army" to repress their malice to their utter confusion. Windsor, 2 Nov. 28 Hen. VIII.

CUMBERLAND TO FITZWILLIAM.

[1536, 6 Nov. Cal. No. 993.]

Yesternight I received the King's letters, copy enclosed, The commons throughout Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and most of Lancashire are wilfully set and minded, and the gentlemen taken with them likewise, rather for war than peace and daily spoil those yet unsworn to them who are but a small company. The commons of Westmoreland sent unto Sir Wm. Musgrave and Jack, his deputy at Bewcastle, to be sworn; but they, together

together with Eske and Lune, as the Gramez &c., replied they would be sworn to no rebels, and if my son at Carlisle would give them licence they would have harried all Cumberland and Westmoreland. Sir Wm. Musgrave, seeing the town of Carlisle in danger came in and helped my son, wherein he has deserved thanks of the King. If the commons have not such answer from the King as will content them, they will congregate in greater numbers than ever. Give credence to bearer, my son Henry Clifford's servant. At my castle of Skipton, 6 Nov.

The following letter from the rebels at Kirkby Stephen shows clearly that Lord Darcy, while professing to act for the King and against the rebellion, was secretly the confidential adviser of the leaders of the rising, and confirms the Duke of Norfolk in his denunciation of Lord Darcy as "the most arrant traitor that was living." See Cal. No. 909, p. — .

THE COMMONS OF WESTMORLAND TO LORD DARCY.

[1536, 15 Nov. Cal. No. 1080.]

Ask him to show them some favour concerning the wealth of their country, by giving them advice, "concernynge the gyrsumes for power men to be laid a parte but only penny farm (?) penny gyrsum, with all the tythes to remayn to every man hys awne, doynge therfor accordynge to thair dewtye, also taxes casten emongst the benefest men, as well tham in abbett with in us as thai that is notte incumbent."

Wish to know Darcy's pleasure, what they do in these causes. Think that they may put in their room to serve God others that would be glad to keep hospitality, for some of them are no priests that have the benefice in hand, and some are lord Cromwell's chaplains. Accept no gentle men of thier counsel, because they are afraid of them as yet, "and to haffe nowte gyelt and sargeant corne layd downe, quyche we thynke war a great welthe for all the contrethe, and all the intakes yt noysum for power men to be layd down."

Ask for for answer in writing, for they have no more trust in him than any other. Kyrkby Stephen, 15 Nov. *Subscribed in the same hand as the text*:—"By your servandes, Robert Pullen to dethe, Nycolles Musgrayffe, the caytaynes of Westmerland, and ye commaunallyte of ye saym."

THE

THE EARL OF DERBY TO THE GENTLEMEN OF FURNESS.

[1536, 17 Nov. Cal. No. 1092.]

As it is thought that the commons of the barony of Kendall intend to come into Furness and Cartmell, and there take men sworn to them according to their unlawful appetite, and levy money, corn, and victuals, . . . he (Derby) has written to William Fitton, his deputy at Furness, desiring him in such case to assemble his strength, and call all Derby's servants and tenants, with the aid of all the gentleman of the country there, and that he endeavour to withstand the enterprise and take as many as possible by dint of sword and other politic means. If he can do this, let him keep his strength wholly together, . . . and if they invade the county, from Lancaster towards Preston, then he is to come after them and advance towards the earl of Derby, who God willing, will meet them ere they pass the county, to their displeasure. Asks the gentlemen to join the deputy, &c., &c. Lathom, Nov. 17.

THE DACRES.

[1536. Cal. No. 1331.]

Remembrance of the demeanor of the Dacres in Cumberland since the beginning of the insurrection of the commons.

Lord Dacre sent, 30 Oct., John Skelton of Armynthwayt to Lord Clifford to offer that, if the commons besieged Carlisle Castle, he would come and aid Clifford if the latter would come to his aid in case he were besieged in Nayworth. Clifford answered he would do so. On Friday, 3 Nov., the commons mustered at Bradfeld, three miles from Carlisle, and there Sir Chr. Dacre stayed them for 10 days from besieging Carlisle. Meanwhile lord Dacre secretly left the country, his tenants of Burgh, Bonys, and Gillesland being unsworn until after his departure. "[And] after the same appointment, the xv. [day of N]ovember, [a ge]neral muster w[as appointed] to be at a p[lace c]alled C . . . dbete, unto wh[ich place c]ome voluntarily Richard Dac[re] and took upon him [to be] grand captain of all Cumberland," and took as petty captains Chr. Lee, servant and kinsmen to lord Dacre, Wm. Porter, and Alex Appulby.

On Saturday, 9 Dec., when the duke of Norfolk was at Doncaster, Richard Dacre came to Carlisle with a company of Lord Dacre's tenants, and met lord Clifford in the church door; "and looked upon him with a haut and proud countenance, not moving his bonnet; and after going out of the churchyard chanced to meet Sir William Musgrave

Musgrave, and without speaking any word plucked out his dagger and took him by the shoulder, and would have slain him in case he had not leaped back from him and plucked out his dagger, and that one of the sons of the lard Fetherstanhagh had not with his dagger drawn leapen betwixt them." Dacre and Fetherstanhagh drew their swords but were parted. Dacre then went into the Marketplace and cried "a Dacre, a Dacre", and gathered a great company. "And thereupon . . . . . ends, as the lord [Clifford] had about . . . . . Castle . . . . . And the M[ayor] master Aglnby and other . . . . . n of the town" commanded Richard Dacre to avoid the marketplace Dacre would not depart till the mayor and Edward Aglionby commanded the townsmen to harness, and then he went to his lodging and dined, and departed at his leisure, while the mayor sought protection of lord Clifford in the castle. Next Saturday * 17 Dec., Richard Dacre came Carlisle with some 20 men of Gillesland in harness for some unlawful purpose. Lord Clifford sent the mayor and Edward Aglionby to stay him, but he would not till he "perceived the lord Clifford, well accompanied, come to the market cross and make a proclamation for the k . . . . . the . . . . . tnes of th . . . . . "

As the year 1536 neared its close the King thought, by proclaiming a pardon, to pacify the rebels, and induce them to return to their allegiance. Accordingly the royal herald went through the northern counties making his proclamation in all chief towns.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

[1536, 31 Dec. No. 1392.]

"This is the right and true copy,† word by word, of the high proclamation of pardon granted and given by the King our Sovereign Lord's highness Henry the VIII., King of England and of France, Defensor of the faith, lord of Ireland and in earth under God Supreme head of the Church of England, Monday the 12th of November [? December] the 28th year of the said our Soveregn lord's reign published declared and proclaimed in Wakefield by me Thomas Hawlley alias Clarensys King of Arms.

* The 17th was Sunday.
† No copy is to be found in the Records.

"The

"The said proclamation made in Halifax by me Clarensyus King of Arms, Wednesday the 14th [13th] of December, the reign of our Sovereign Lord above written; there was a son in law of Sir Richard Tempest.

"Item, also proclaimed by me Clarensyus in Bradford Thursday the 14th of the same month, Sir Richard Tempest. Item, also proclaimed by me Clarensyus at Leeds the 15th of the same month, the under-bailiff of the town. Saturday. Item, at Skiktoune [qr Skipton] the 16th of the same month, one Mr Clifton with other gentlemen. Item, at Kendal the 19th the bailiff of the town, four lords of Cumberland. Item, at Appleby, the Wednesday the 20th, Sir T. Wartonne with other. Item, Peryth, Thursday the 21st, Mr Dorley [? Dudley] and the Hi baylyfe. Item, at Carlisle on Saturday, the 23th of the same month, the mayor, the pryor, Eglyte. Item, at Cokermothe on Tuesday the 26th to Sir Thomas Warton Sir Thomas Crowemer (?)

"Item, the xxxjth of the same month at Lancaster, Sir Marmaduke Tonstall."

The proclamation of royal pardon which closed the year 1536, so far from pacifying the people, only increased their bitterness; they would not acknowledge their need for any pardon, and saw in the conditions of the pardon only a trap to make them inculpate themselves. The conditions attached to the pardon proclaimed through Westmorland and Cumberland the last few days of 1536 appear to have been lost, but may be inferred from the proclamation of general pardon Nov. 2nd, 1536, No. 955, which requires all persons desirous of obtaining pardon to sue for it in Chancery, and that they apprehend and give up to the King a number of the ringleaders named, and a certain other number yet to be named.

Only a few days after the pardon was proclaimed at Cockermouth, West Cumberland was in a state of anarchy, as described in the following letter.

THOMAS LAMPLIEWGH OF DOVENBY TO PETER MEDLETON.

[1537, 4 Jany. Cal. No. 18.]

My wife, Elizabeth my daughter, and my other children send recommendations

recommendations. The tenants of Broughton, on Saturday last, put the threshers of Sir Thomas Wharton out of "teyth laythe" (the tithe lathe or barn), of Broughton, and set a lock on the door, and yesterday your tenants did the same to your threshers at Talentire. Whereupon I sent for the bailiff and four sworn men, i.e., Robert Dogeson, Wheylwright, Wyte, and Nicolson, who came to me to-day and agreed to take off the lock and allow 14 days to see how the country ruled; but meantime your other tenants had gone to the barn and divided the corn amongst them. Remedy must needs be had at the law or by the law as you think best. I hear they will do the same to-day or to-morrow at Broughton, Eglisffeld, and Ceton, "but your tenants are the first that I hear of contrary their promise unto you and me to suffer eight days after other occupied in the country." If I would have meddled for you they uttered me plainly that 2,000 would take their part against me. I intended to have written by Wm. Lambert. There is like to be as ill a world in this country as ever was. Dovenby, Thursday, 4 January.

Signed in same hand as the text.

In his own hand.

I learn that John Dogeson has broken his son William's head for meddling at the barn on his behalf, and has, together with one Wm. Watson, refused to take any part in their acts. I shall send word to my lord Warden and his deputies at Carlisle and to my cousin Aglanby whom the commons here dread most of all this country. This Friday at night. "All on this side of the Pawper [Paper] by me, the said Thomas Lampliewgh."

HENRY EARL OF CUMBERLAND TO HENRY VIII.

[1537, 12 Jan. Cal. No. 71.]

Since the proclamation of your pardon by the herald there have been musters in Cumberland about Cockermouth, and some attempted in Westmoreland, "for the punishment of such as were there captains for such money as they had gathered among them." Also bills are set upon church doors about Harwod and other places in Yorkshire. Sends copy. The people are so wild that there is danger of further rebellion. As to the officers of the West Marches, there is good quiet with Scotland; but if the commons break again, Carlisle will be in great jeopardy both from them and the Scots. The walls of the town and castle are much decayed, as he has declared by sundry bills of petition, and could not stand the siege without aid. Desires credence for his son the bearer, and also for Sir Thomas Wharton

Wharton, and Sir William Musgrave, who, with Sir Thomas Curwen, have been in jeopardy sundry times, and whom he thinks it right to send up. Skipton Castle, 12 January.

The method of the rebels was, by the show of numbers and bluster, to overawe the gentry, and under threats of death and spoliation, to compel them to swear allegiance to the rebel cause; and, by making them assume the position of captains, to use them as buffers between themselves and an enraged king; in this way a veritable reign of terror was created. The following records bear upon this state of things.

HENRY EARL OF CUMBERLAND TO CROMWELL.

[1537, 12 Jan. Cal. No. 72.]

Heretofore during this troublous time I durst not write to you because the commons were so minded against you that if any man had been taken therewith he should have died without help. The country are not minded to continue quiet, as you shall see by the copy of the King's letter and of a schedule enclosed, which was set on church doors in Yorkshire. If Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Cockermouth break again, they intend to have Carlill sworn to them, and in that case, I fear the Scots would be doing. As the walls and castle are weak a garrison of 300 men should be appointed there. When the country is grown to any stay I intend to come to see the King. Give credence to my son this bearer. Skipton Castle, 12 January.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

[1537, 19 Jan. Cal. No. 163.]

The articles of a bill that was sent to the town of Richmond, 19 Jan. that the commons in every township should rise on pain of death and make all lords and gentlemen swear on the mass book to these articles. (1) "To maintain the profit of Holy Church, which was the upholding of the Christian faith." (2) That no lord nor gentleman take anything of their tenants but their rents. (3) "To put down the lord Cromwell, that heretic and all his sect, the which made the King put down praying and fasting." (4) That no lord nor gentleman go to London.

If any lord of gentleman refuse this oath, put him to death, and put the next of his blood in his place, and if he deny it, put him to death likewise, and so on. Truly

Truly a blood-thirsty "so on". The next proclamation, however, from "Kendal-land", breathes in poetical language, a much sweeter strain.

2 PROCLAMATION OF THE COMMONS:

[Cal. No. 163.]

"All commons stick ye together, rise with no great man to ye know his intent, keep your harness in your hands, and ye shall obtain your purpose in all this north land. Claim ye old customs and tenant right to take your farms by a God's penny, all gressums* and heightenings† to be laid down, then may we serve our sovereign lord King Henry the Eight, God save his noble Grace, we shall serve our land's lords in every righteous cause with horse and harness as custom will demand. Gentle commons have this in your minds; every man take his land's lord and ye have need, as we did in Kendilland, then ye shall speed, make your writing command them to seal to grant you your petitions at your desire. Lords spiritual and temporal, have it in your mind the world as it waveth, and to your tenants ye be kind, then may ye go a pilgrimage nothing you withstand and commons to you be true, through all Christian lands to maintain the faith of Holy Church as ye have take on hand. Adieu! gentle commons, thus I make an end, maker of this letter, pray Jesu be his speed, he shall be your captain when that ye have need."

SIR THOS. CURWEN TO SIR THOMAS WHARTON.

[1537, 21 Jan. Cal. No. 185.]

Asks him to show the King or Council the state of these West parts of Cumberland. From Plomlonde to Mongcaster "ys all on flowghter," and more rebellious than ever, both in words and deeds, nothing regarding the pardon. On Saturday 13 Jan., a servant of Dr. Lee's, called Robt. Wetlay came to Mongcaster and lodged at Roger Fylbeces house, and parson Wodall with him. Next day the country rose on him and took him to Agremonde, and on Monday to Cokkarmouth. All the people were assembled in the market place. Some said "Strike off his head," some said "Stick him." He was searched for letters from the King, and there were some found on him from Dr. Lee, but nothing in them concerning the King nor the

* Fines on a change of lords.
† Raising of rents.

commons.

commons. They all concluded to put him to death, but his life was saved for that day by young John Swenburne, by promising to bring him the next Monday to be tried in open market by 24 men whether he brought any other letters, as to the earl of Cumberland, Curwen or Whartton. If they can prove any letters from the King or his Council, they will put him to death. They have sent to all the places he came by as far as Skypton, to inquire. On Thursday, 18th inst., the commons spoiled all the tithe barns on the west side of Derwent.

NORFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

[1537, 14 Feb. Cal. No. 419.]

The bearers of the following news came to York expecting to find Norfolk there, and it is feared that they have been reported worse than need be. On Monday last, when Cumberland's bastard son, [Thomas Clifford] deputy captain of Carlisle, came to take two traitors at Kirkby Stephen, they keeping the steeple, his horseman, in great part strong thieves of the West lands, began to spoil the town, and the inhabitants rose to defend both their goods and the traitors. A skirmish ensued, in which one or two rebels were slain, and Thomas my lord's bastard son, was forced to retire to Browham castle. The country has since risen, some say 4,000 or 5,000 together, and are sending for others to aid them. Hopes to look on them by Saturday night. Thinks no such thing would have occurred if this enterprise had been handled "as it was promised me." Fountains, 14 Feb.

NORFOLK TO CROMWELL.

[1537, 16 Feb. Cal. No. 439.]

As I have written to the King of this ungracious business, I forbear to write to you, save that if Thomas Clifford had not brought with him the thieves of Ask and Levon, and that they had not spoiled, this had not happened. I shall this night have with me most of the nobles and gentleman, not daring to assemble the people, for I cannot trust them. This journey will "pluck out the bottom of my purse," but, this pageant well played, this realm shall be the quieter. I shall not risk anything. If lord Dacre's company come to our aid we shall beat them easily; if not we will keep them in play with our horsemen. Of my letter to Sir Chr. Dacre I, for surer conveying, sent two copies for diverse men. I have sent into Westmoreland Sir Thomas Wharton, who is come from London, and Sir Thomas Curwen, and four gentlemen of Westmorland that have been serving

serving with Thomas Clifford, whose names are in a bill, enclosed, to raise men. This night I will send 200 or 300 light horses to them, and have commanded them to fire the rebels' dwellings, to make them "scale,"* and, "if the traitors so sparcle," † not to spare the shedding of blood. As they are countrymen, I will send such as I can rely on. I will make haste, and on Sunday or Monday at latest we shall be busy with them. "Now shall appear whether for favour of these countrymen I forbare to fight with them at Doncaster," as the King showed me had been said. Richmond, 16 Feb.

NORFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

[1537, 17 Feb. Cal. No. 448.]

Your Highness hath as much cause to thank God as ever had Prince. Sir Chr. Dacre has shown himself a noble knight. He set upon the rebels when they gave the assault to Carlisle, and has taken 700 or 800: how many more is not yet known for the chase was not finished when these men came away. Among others the friar of Knaresborough is taken. I have to go thither near 50 miles and shall make all the haste I can possible, and do such execution that others shall be afraid. Never saw so many well willing noblemen and gentlemen to atone for their former fault. Thinks there are above 4,000 tried men and the best geldings he ever saw, and if any rebellion should break out he should bring such a band out of these parts as would be fearful for enemies to look upon. Thomas Clifford has atoned for his first blunder, for when they were broken he issued out of Carlisle and followed chase at least 12 miles. Barna Castle, Saturday, 17 Feb.

NORFOLK TO THE COUNCIL.

[1537, 19 Feb. Cal. No. 468.]

Thanks for their last letter, with the King's approval of his proceedings. Thinks, if he suffered to follow his own mind for one month, he could give his Highness satisfaction. Has so many places to punish it will require some leisure, as he must be present at every punishment and proceed by martial law; for if he were to proceed by indictments many a great offender would be acquitted as having acted against his will. There is no lord or gentleman of these two shires but his servants have been at this new rebellion.

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* † Both words signify "disperse."

"And

"And, good Mr. Comptroller, provide you of a new bailey at Embleton, for John Jackson, your bailey woll be hanged Thursday or Friday at the furthest, and I think some of your tenants woll keep him company." You will hardly believe the trouble I have to keep the prisoners, there are so many. Carlisle, 19 Feb.

HENRY VIII TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

[1537, 22 Feb. Cal. No. 479.]

We have received your letters of the 16th, about the new assembly in Westmorrland, and your others of the 17th by Sir Ralph Evers, touching the valiant and faithful courage of Sir Chr. Dacres in the overthrow of the traitors who made assault upon Carlisle, reporting also the good service done by Thomas Clifford, and the perfect readiness of all the noblemen and gentlemen in Yorkshire and those parts to have served in your company against them. We shall not forget your services, and are glad to hear also from sundry of our servants how you advance the truth, declaring the usurpation of the bishop of Rome, and how discreetly you paint those persons that call themselves religious in the colours of their hypocrisy, and we doubt not but the further you shall wade in the investigation of their behaviours the more you shall detest the great number of them and the less esteem the punishment of those culpable. 2. We desire you to thank those that were ready to have served us. We have thanked Sir Chr. Dacres in the letters which you shall receive herewith, and will shortly recompence him in a way to encourage others. 3. We approve of your proceedings in the displaying of our banner, which being now spread, till it is closed again, the close of our laws must give place to martial law; and before you close it up again you must cause such dreadful execution upon a good number of the inhabitants, hanging them on trees, quartering them, and setting their heads and quarters in every town, as shall be a fearful warning, whereby shall ensue the preservation of a great multitude. That done, ye shall close up our said banner both for the advancement of ordinary justice between parties and for the punishment of other malefactors, for which also we send you the commissions for Westmoreland and Cumberland. 4. You shall send up to us the traitors Bigod, the friar of Gnasborough, Leche, if he may be taken, the vicar of Penrith and Towneley, late chancellor to the bishop of Carlisle, who has been a great promoter of these rebellions, (the witch of York)* and one Dr. Pykering, a canon Birdlington. You are to see

* Erased.

to

to the lands and goods of such as shall be now attainted, that we may have them in safety, to be given, if we be so disposed to those who have truly served us, for we hear there were among them divers freeholders and rich men. Finally, as these troubles have been promoted by the monks and canons of those parts, at your repair to Salleye, Hexam, Newminster, Leonarde Coste (Lanercost), St. Agathe, and such other places as have made resistance since the appointment at Doncaster, you shall without pity or circumstance, now that our banner is displayed, cause the monks to be tied up without further delay or ceremony.

NORFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

[1537, Feb. 24. Cal. No. 498.]

Since his coming to Carlisle on Sunday has put such order that besides rebels taken before he came, on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday there came to him in effect all the offenders in this last insurrection from Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Cockermouth, who submitted as humbly as could be, and if ropes enough had been found would have come with the same about their necks. But they were no fewer than 6,000, out of whom, by the advice of the Council and gentleman of these parts, 74 were chosen as principal offenders and judged to suffer death by martial law, your banner being displayed. Appointed Sir Ralph Ellerker as mashall and Robert Bowys as your attorney to prosecute them. They shall be put to death in every town where they dwelt. Twelve of them here for the assault given to this city, and as many as chains of iron can be made for in this town and in the country shall be hanged in them; the rest in ropes. Iron is marvellous scarce. By no means that he could devise could he try out more that were stirrers of this rebellion except such as be fled. Did all he could with the help of Sir Chr. Dacre, Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir Thomas Curwen, Sir John Lawmpley, and other gentlemen of these parts. Had he proceeded by jury, thinks not the fifth man of them would have suffered; for they say I came out for fear of my life, or for fear of burning of my houses and destroying of my wife and children, &c.; "and a small excuse woll be well believed here, where much affection and pity of neighbours doth reign. And, sir, though their number be nothing so great as their deserts did require to have suffered, yet I think the like number hath not be heard of put to execution at one time."

Has caused the vicar of Burgh to be taken, who at the first insurrection was a principal maintainer of the bishop of Rome. Can get no proof that he consented to the last rebellion, but he prayed

prayed for the Pope in the pulpit. If the King will have him "justified" it must be by *oyer determiner* under a commission to persons named in the enclosed schedule. Carlisle, 24 Feb.

NAMES OF PERSONS CONDEMNED TO DIE AT CARLISLE, 24 Feb. anno 28.

Co. Westmld.:—Thos. Tibbee, Robt. Rowlandeson, Edm. Playce, Peter Johnson, and Thos. Syll, of Kirkeby Stephen parish; Wm. Shawe, of the . . . . . ganlownd; Hugh Dent, Lancelot Shawe, Edw. Bowsfell, Ric. Wallor, John Bowsfell, Roger Gibson, Jenkyn Winton; Hen. Gibson, of Mallerstrang; Chr. Blenkensoppe, of the parish of Burgh; Wm. Wylkyne and Thos. Taylour of Sorbye; Thos. Westale and Rynian Wallour, of Soreby; Robt. Patrick and Hen. Gibson, Staynemore; Ant. Wharton, of Nateby; Thos. Wrey and Hen. Bursy, of Sulby; Thos. Sutton and Ant. Amontson, of Little Musgrave; Edm. Sponer and Smyth, of Assheby; Wm. Nelson, Rowland Raysebeck, John Hall, Hugh Beyle, Robt. Hodgeson, Wm. Waterman, Launcelot Dragley, and Hugh Stedeman, of the parish of St. Michael's in Appleby; Hugh Nutt, Ric. Burrell, and Geo. Morland, of the parish of St. Lawrence in Appleby; Thos. Jackeson, of Bongate; John Bryan, of King's Meburne; John Dobson, of Dutton: Gilbert Denyson, of Smardale; Thos. Hall and Wm. Wallour, of Hurteley.

Co. Cumbr.:—Thos. Burtbecke, Edw. Whitelocke, John Stephenson, Robt. Stephenson, Michael Grey, Wm. Stephenson, Sir Edw. Perith, chaplain, and Edw. Stephenson of Perith; Wm. Buntyng, of Grastocke; Robt. Goodale and Launcelot Richardson, of Newton; Robt. Fyssher and Thos. Bell, of Cockermouth; John Wilson, of Brygham, jun.; John Jackeson, of Emelton; Ric. Cragge, of Eglesfyld; Percival Hudson, of Perdishewe; Chr. Smyth, of Branthwayte; John Bewley, of Dereham; John Peyrson, of Talentyre; Sander Banke, of Wedoppe.

SIR THOMAS WHARTON TO CROMWELL.

[1537, 12 Mar. No. 641.]

According to the King's commands repaired to Norfolk at York, and before him into Westmoreland and Cumberland, where he did all he could to serve the King. After Norfolk's departure from Carlisle, went with the Sheriff of Cumberland to the execution of the traitors in that shire, and remained at Cockermouth and thereabouts. That country stands in good obedience. Repaired to the poor country

country of Westmoreland which is also obedient. The goods forfeited of those traitors amount to a good sum. My Lord of Cumberand has seized all in Westmoreland, and the sheriff in Cumberland. Thinks the goods in Westmoreland worth 300 mks., in Cumberland the third part thereof or under. The West Borders are quiet. Cockermouth Castle, 12 March.

By a refinement of cruelty devised by the King, the persons condemned to death were hung in their own localities, and there left hanging in the sight of their families and neighbours, no man daring to give them burial. Out of this terrible state of things arose the gruesome episode forming the subject of the following letters.

NORFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

Sends a bill sent by Sir Thos. Wharton and Sir Thos. Curwen of examinations of those who have taken down part of your rebels where they were hanged. They are all women—not one man. "It is a small number concerning seventy-four that hath be taken down, wherein I think your Majesty hath not be well served." Has not been well used himself, being kept ignorant of it so long, and that he can get no better knowledge of the illdoers in spite of quick messages. Desires to know how he shall punish offenders, both men and women. If my lord of Cumberland under whose rule all this was done be something spoken to, the offenders will be the sooner known. Sheriffhutton, 16 May.

SAYINGS OF CERTAIN WOMEN CONCERNING THE TAKING DOWN FROM THE GALLOWS AND BURIAL OF THEIR HUSBANDS.

(1) Of Janet late wife of John Jakson of Hemelton, traitor:—How she and Margaret Jakson her mother-in-law, Janet Symson, Isabel Adeson, widow, one Rodre's widow of Emellton, Janet Berkyd of Cockermouth and many other women, buried him in Cockermouth churchyard on a Monday at nightfall. (2) Of Chr. Smyth's wife:—She and John Hudson's wife, Necollson's widow and Newcom's widow of Brawnthat, and John Smyth's wife and Sander Buttermer's wife buried him in Brawntwhat churchyard on Shyer Thursday in the night. (3) Of Ric. Crage's wife:—She and Janet Harres and Janet Newcom of Egyllsfelde brought her husband's body

body home, but the priest would not suffer it to be buried, so she buried it in a dyke. (4) Of John Wyllson's wife:—She and Thomas Bell's wife, one Besse dwelling with Ric. Atkynson, Nan Newcom and Janet Dyckson of Bregham buried Wyllson in Brygham churchyard, on a Wednesday. (5) Of Percival Hudson's wife:—Brought her husband to Torpeno churchyard, but the vicar would not suffer him to be buried, so she took him back to the place he had lain, and three days after she and a women she had hired buried him in Torpeno churchyard at night. (6) Of Thomas Byll's wife:—Cut down her husband with a "thorncroke" and, with Janet Jenkyns, Besse wife of one Blandeman and 2 of her own daughters, buried him at daybreak in Cokermouth churchyard. (7) Of John Fyssher's wife:—She and other women buried him in Cockermouth churchyard. (8) Of John Buele's wife:—Knows not who cut him down. After he had lain 9 days where he fell, she wound him in a sheet, and 8 days after, she and Annes Burton, (?) John Wylson's wife, Ellen Stevenson, Janet Carde, and Ellen Man buried him at night in Deram churchyard. (9) Of John Peyrson's wife:—Did not know of his "lowsying" from the chain. Gave a sheet to Bessé Matson to wind him in and afterwards, with Dan Symson's wife, John Staysse's wife, and Ric. Brown's wife, buried him by daylight in Brydekycke churchyard. *Signed*, Thomas Curwen—Thomas Whartton.

SIR THOMAS CURWEN AND SIR THOMAS WHARTON TO NORFOLK.

Have received his letters dated Sheroffhevton, 11 May, commanding them to inquire into the taking down of the traitors executed for their late rebellion. Have taken examinations at Cockermouth, Penrith, and Carlisle, and send the result by bearer: the people are anxious to retain Norfolk's favour and have aided the examinations. In Westmorland divers persons under the earl of Cumberland have been investigating this. In that county eight traitors were hanged in chains and in Cumberland six. Norfolk seems to impute remissness to them; refer to their former letter for their services to the King and his Grace, and beg favour. Credence for bearer. Karliell, 19 May.

"A brief remembrance for the cutting down of those that was hanged in ropes and chains;" upon examinations taken before Sir Thos. Curwen and Sir Thos. Whartton, 18 May.

Cases of Percival Hudson, Thos. Bell, Alex. Bancke, John Wylson, John Jackeson, Robt. Fyscher, Chr. Smith, Rycc. Crag, one Bewly, and one Person. All these except Bancke were buried by their wives

wives, who in some cases confess also to cutting them down and burying them by night. John Dawson is suspected by John Richerdson, clk., of cutting down Bancke. Crag's cousin and Bewley's brother afterwards died from the "corruption" of the bodies they cut down.

NORFOLK TO CROMWELL.

Sends a letter from Sir Thomas Clifford, concerning the king of Scots, and one from Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir Thomas Curwen with the copy of their certificate touching the taking down of the rebels in those parts. Wharton and Curwen's letter, which came this afternoon, will show that Norfolk was not privy nor pleased with the taking down of the offenders. Begs him to show this to the King.

NORFOLK TO CROMWELL.

Sends a certificate from Sir John Lowther of the offenders who took down and buried 74 traitors in Westmoreland and Cumberland. If the King is displeased at that matter not being sufficiently tried, will not be sorry that he should show it by his letters to those who have the rule there.

CROMWELL TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

The King is not satisfied with the depositions "taken of certain women anempst the cutting down and burial of the traitors in Westmoreland and Cumberland," which could not have come only of women's heads. If those depositions had been earnestly taken the truth might have been known. Norfolk must find out and punish the principal doers.

The following papers, dealing with the apprehension and trial, in the Tower of London, of the three principal leaders of the rebellion in Westmorland and Cumberland, Robert Thompson, vicar of Brough, William Colyn, bailiff of Kendal, and Dr. Townley, chancellor to Bishop Carlisle, afford a tolerably complete story of the rebellion in Westmorland and Cumberland.

The atrocious spelling of names in the depositions in the Tower, may doubtless be attributed to the London scribe, who took them down as best he could from the lips of men whose dialect he did not understand.

In

In No. 479 it has been seen that the King required the vicar of Penrith to be sent up, while in 594 and 609 Norfolk says he sends up the vicar of Brough, without explaining why the vicar of Brough instead of Penrith is sent, from which it would appear that a letter giving the reasons must have been lost from the State Records, and, singularly enough, just such a letter appears in Nicolson and Burns' *History of Westmorland*, in treating of Brough-under-Stainmore. Nicolson and Burn say:—"In the year 1537, 28 Hen. VIII, after Aske's rebellion in that year, we find a vicar of Brough, but his name is not mentioned in a letter from the Duke of Norfolk to the King."

Aglianby I doubt not or now hath shewed your highness what was done at Carlisle. And though none were quartered because I knew not your pleasure therein before; yet all the threescore and fourteen be hanged in chains or ropes upon gallowes or trees in all such towns as they did dwell in. And whereas your majesty would have send the Vicar of Perith to you it is not of Perith but of Brughe that your grace doth mean for there is none such, for whom I have sent to my lord of Cumberland for I left him in his keeping. And also I have for Doctor Towneley and doubt not within three days to have them both with me and so shall send them up.

Clearly this, or some such letter of explanation, should have come in between No. 498, Feb. 14, and No. 594, March 7.

In the three following articles we have the depositions of the two Cumberland, and one Westmorland, leaders of the rebellion, when on their trial in the Tower, wherein we get fairly consecutive accounts of the origin and progress of the rebellion, and we now learn that the name of the famous vicar of Brough was Robert Thompson; he was probably a Penrith man, as his mother lived there, and his sister was wife of Gilbert Whelpdale, one of the captains of the Penrith rebels.

There is no mention of a vicar of Penrith during the rising;

rising; Norfolk's expression referring to the vicar of Penrith, "there is none such," may indicate that the living of Penrith was then vacant.

The Sir (priest) Edwd. Perith, who was chaplain to the Penrith rebels, and carried the cross before them, was probably the priest of Bishop Strickland's chantry in Penrith church. He was one of the seventy-four hung for taking part in the rebellion.

NORFOLK TO THE COUNCIL (extract).

[1537, 7 Mar. Cal. No. 594.]

I do n[ow send] by Rudstone Doctor Towneley, against whom I can [find nothing] sith the pardon, nor of no great effect before. I hu . . . . . him in no such matter, the said Rudstone sh . . . . . him the vicar of Burgh,* aga[in]st whom my [lord of [Cumber]londe hath advertised me he can find no. mat[ter since the time] of the pardon other than praying [fo]r the bishop [of Rome on]ly. Before he was of all other one of the wors[t].

NORFOLK TO CROMWELL (extract).

[1537, 8 Mar. Cal. No. 609.]

Sends to the King, by Rudstone, the bearer Dr. Towneley and the [vic]ar of Burgh, and will send Dr. Pykeryng [as] soon as he can cause him to [be t]aken.

[1537. Cal. No. 687.]

Examintion taken 20 March, 28 Hen. VIII., before Mr. Tregonwell, Mr. Layton, and Mr. Legh, doctors of law, in the Tower of London in presence of me John Rice, notary public.

Sir Robert Thompson, vicar of Burgh under Stanesmore, answers to the interrogatories as follows:—

On Sunday before St. Luke's day the curate of Kirkby Stephen left out, at bidding of the beads, St. Luke's day; whereupon the parishoners would have killed him, but he "took a sacring bell and rang it, and bade the said St. Luke's day as holyday." Next day they of Kirkby Stephen summoned the country to muster on Sandeforthe Moor, because they were up in Richmondshire, Yorkshire, and the bpric of Durham already. Examinate tarried till the men of Burgh and

* Robert Thompson, vicar of Brough-under-Stainmoor, in Westmorland. See No. 687. (Note in Calendars).

Kirkby

Kirkby were gone and then fled, by Warcopp and Sandefurth to avoid the mustering place, towards his mother's at Perith; but was arrested by five men with spears and bows and brought back to Standeforthe (*sic*) Moor to the captains of the assembly, Robert Pullayn, Nicholas Musgrave, Chr. Blenkensopp, and Robt. Hilton, and sworn. He was then allowed to go [to] his mother, returning next day. That day, Tuesday, they went to Sir Thomas Wharton's house, but he was fled; so they took his eldest son and appointed to meet on the morrow at Kirkby Stephen. Which they did, and then went to Lamerside hall, thinking to find Sir Thomas of Wharton and other gentlemen with Mr. Warcopp there, but found only servants, so Pulleyn took the keys of the house and appointed a day for Sir Thomas and Mr. Warcopp to come in or else lose their goods. Then Pulleyn swore men to bring in the goods of those who would not come to them; and settled that Nich. Musgrave, with his side of the water of Eden, should go down the one side and Robt. Pullayn with his side, down the other, to Perith on the morrow. Pullayn did so, but Musgrave tarried that Thursday night about Lowther and sought for Sir John of Lowther. On Friday Pullayn and his company returned from Perith towards Westmoreland, and at Amonte Bridge swore Mr. Dudley and others and then sent examinate to Perith to help the commons with his counsel at their desire, for Gilbert Whelton, [Whelpdale] his brother in law had the day before been proclaimed one of the captains there. They had gathered there, before Pullayn's coming, on a letter from beyond Stanesmore sent from the commons of Yorkshire, Richmondshire, and the Bishopric, commanding Westmoreland and Cumberland to assemble and take oath to be true to God, the Church, and the Commonwealth; and, that done, to restore suppressed abbeys and see that there should be no war with the Scots; and then the substantial gentlemen to resort to the assembly of the commons in Yorkshire. Went that Friday to Perith where they were assembling on Perith fell. The four captains of Perith, Ant. Hutton, John Beck, Gilbert Whelpedale, and Thos. Burbeck known as Charity, Faith, Poverty, and Pity, sent the copy of the "said letters" to Sir Edward Musgrave, who was then sworn with all the parish of Edynell. All the country about Perith was sworn; examinate ministered the oath, for he had been proclaimed Poverty's chaplain and their secretary; he also "instructed to the crier this proclamation at every meeting" which was devised by the captains and others and written by Sir George Corney, and other letters in the captain's and common's names. One Sir Edw. Perith bore the cross before them and was called the cross-bearer. The proclamation was to the effect* that, as the rulers did not defend them from thieves and Scots, they had chosen the four captains, who commanded all to live in peace and to say 5 aves, 5 paters, and a creed, &c. The captains appointed the next meeting, and at night all returned home and met on the fells in the day. Next day, Saturday the commons beyond Eden came and took the oath and were appointed to meet on Monday at Cartlogan Thornes; which they did; and thither came Dr. Townley, with townships about Caldebecke, and Dr. Townley, Richard Bewley and other gentlemen were sworn. Thither came Sir John Lowther and required certain men of Sowrebie to go with him to keep the "day of March." There they chose captains for Caldebecke, the barony of Greystock, the parts beyond Eden, and the Forest of Englewood, two for each. On Wednesday they met at Kylwatlyng

* Given in the original words.

Howe and Cuthbert Hutton, with the gentlemen and commons there, took the oath. There proclamation was made for the parson of Melburbie to come in; for he, Dr. Towneley, the vicar of Sowrebie, and the vicar of Edynnall were appointed "Chaplains of Poverty," to instruct the commons in the Faith on pain of death. On the Wednesday and Thursday the four captains in the chapel of Pereth followed ext. in procession with their swords drawn, and then put up their swords and ext. said mass, which they called the captains mass and declared the Ten Commandments and showed that the breaking of these was the cause of that trouble. One of the priests thought they should not have naked swords in church, so it was discontinued. On Friday next they assembled on Sanderdale Hill, where messengers came from Carlisle showing that Carlisle would take no oath, but otherwise would be with them. The commons who dwelt thereabouts said they were undone unless Carlisle took their part, "for Aske and Levyn and the Black Quarters would rob and destroy them"; for word came that divers men's goods about Carlisle had been driven away that day. It was proclaimed no one should bring victuals to Carlisle. Examinate lay at Cockermouth that night. On Saturday the meeting was at Mewtey Hill, three miles from Cockermouth, where the abbot of Holme, Thos. of Dalston and others were sworn, and the two captains appointed for the lordship of Holme. The council there ordered Sir John of Lowther "which was at Caerlill," the abbot of Holme, Dr. Townley, Richard Blenkow, and Thomas Dalston to go to Carlisle to know whether the mayor would meet the commons on Monday next "whether they would keep the commons' enemies, meaning the Scots thieves and robbers, from them," and that the mayor should take the oath of his brethren at Carlisle. The abbot, Dr. Townley, and Dalston, feared to go; so one Percy Simpson "said they would never be well till they had stricken off all the priests' heads," saying they would but deceive them." Then the crier, Thos. Berwick, commanded the honor of Cockermouth to meet the commons of Cumberland on Monday at Burford Oke, and all dispersed. Examinate went to Caldbeck and on the morrow to Dalston; whence the Abbot of Holme and Dr. Townley went to Carlisle with their message, and the vicar of Dalston with them; but they were not suffered to enter the city, and returned saying proclamation was made that the King and commons were agreed. They sent examinate to Perith: but no such proclamation had been made there. On Monday at Burford Oke, where the commons numbered 15,000, Dr. Townley gave the oath to Parson Melmurby and two brethren of Carlisle, and another message was sent to Carlisle, Parson Melmurby and Dr. Townley being two of the messengers. Examinate returned to Perith and went no more to the commons. Heard afterwards that Sir Chr. Dacres made a stay concerning Carlisle. Robt. Pulleyn went from the commons of Westmoreland to Robert Aske and was at the first meeting at Doncaster; and, returning to Appleby, proclaimed that priests should bid holidays and beads as before; and, with the aid of Nich. Musgrave and 24 others, drew up articles concerning "there gressuns and not gylte* and serjeant foude (?)," and that every man should have his own tithe corn, which was sent to Aske at York against the consultation there before the last meeting at Doncaster by Pullen and Musgrave and six others, with the vicar of Moreland and this examinate. Aske allowed most of the articles, and gave instructions to inquire into the visitation of Dr. Layton and Dr.

* The nout-geld, or cornage rent.

Legh

Legh and to get the opinion of the clergy of Westmoreland and Cumberland concerning the suppression of abbeys, supremacy, &c. The clergy would determine nothing, but wrote to the abp. of York referring all to him, which letter was stopped by Pulleyn. From Doncaster Pulleyn brought certain articles agreed upon at the meeting and to be determined at a Parliament to be held shortly. Humbly begs pardon of the King, for his foresaid offences, according to his petition in his own hand.

Also the "said captains and qwests" of Westmoreland confiscated the fruits of benefices of them that were absent, and "Sesses" the beneficed men present, for the maintenance of the commons. They also "compelled the gentlemen to seal to their demands concerning this and ingressions . . . . . or fines." More he knoweth not touching the first insurrection.

Had nothing to do with the last insurrection. Heard that because Robt. Pulleyn had paid his "nowt guylt," and put divers men in possession of lands and taken bribes, the commons grudged thereat; so that some about Kirkby Stephen would have pulled him out of his house in the Xmas holidays. Thus the country was put out of order. Shortly afterwards one Mr. Rose was robbed "and the country was afraid of burning." On Twelfth day the captain of Carlisle came (as was supposed) to take Nich. Musgrave. who gat him to the steeple with one Thomas Tybie. Then they of Kirkby Stephen "plucked down the new intacks or inclosures," and sent to other parishes to do the like, which was done at Burgh 28 Jannary. Then the captain of Carlisle came to take Musgrave and Tybie, and there was a fight. Was commanded by Thos. Tailor, Matthew Wharton, and Chr. Blenkensopp, in the name of the parish, to pray for the Pope; and "for fear of his life," bade the beads 28 Jan., commanding all to pray for the King as head of the Church and for the Bp. of Rome and cardinals. Then he fled to Clyfton, 14 miles off, and was there when the captain of Carlisle came to take Musgrave and Tyby and the commons rose and went towards Carlisle.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

[1527. Cal. No. 687.]

Confession of Barnarde Towneley, clerk.

The commons of Calbeyke, 23 Oct. last, by command of Mownse, John Beyke, Gilbert Weldall and W. Burkbeyke, captains of Penrethe, assembled and took me and Ric. Bewley and Ric. Vachell, gent., with them and met the commons of Penreth, the barony of Greystoke, Hutton, Shewlton, Soreby, and others at Cartlogan. There the vicar of Bowrght* under Steynes More in the name of the whole commons made us take the oath. Sir John Lowther and other gentlemen were present. On Wednesday after they brought me to Kylwatlynhow, where the vicar of Burght caused the crier to proclain that if the parson of Thurkyld and others would not attend them they should strike off our heads and set my head on the highest place in the diocese. On the Friday next the said vicar and commons came to Sanderdale; and there John Denton, Richard Blanderhorset and John Thowmson of Carlill came to them under safe conduct. After

* This and all other mentions of the vicar are marked with a cross in the margin.

they

they left the vicar caused the crier to cry that none should bring stuff to Carlill market. From thence the said vicar and captains of Penreth went to Cockermouth, and, on the Saturday after, came to Mutno (?)* Hill where the abbot of Holm was brought in by the vicar and John Dalston and sworn. There were present John Leght, John Shelton of Bramwegth (?), John Lampley, gentlemen, and others. The said vicar and captain appointed the abbot of Holme, Thomas Dalston, Parson Thyrkyll Richard Blenkehow, and myself to go to Carlisle on Sunday next and desire the mayor and his brethren to come on Monday to Bramthewthe Oke and take the oath and then return and swear the commons of the town, after which all would return to their houses. On Sunday the abbot of Holm and I came to Dalston and sent Sir William Robyn to Carlisle to speak with Thomas Dalston and see whether Parson Thurkylde and Ric. Blenkhow were come. He brought word there was a proclamation that no man should make unlawful assembly,—so we desired the vicar of Burght, who was at Dalston, to stop Penrith from coming down; albeit when he came to Penrith he and the captains gave warning "against morning," and said this stop was but craft and falsehood. On Monday next the honor of Cockermouth came to Burnthewth Oke and the said captains and vicar sent Richard Bewley, Parson Thurkylde, Lancelot Schaldwylde, Richard Blenkhow, John Swynburne, jun., and myself to do the message to Carlisle, and we sent forward two canons of Carlisle, Sir Ric. Huttwythe, and Sir Wm. Florens, to cause the town to meet us. There met us Richard Blanderherset and John Towmson, who brought the copy of the king's proclamation, which we immediately sent, with Bewnley, Salkylde, Blenkhow, and Swynburne, to the commons who thereupon dispersed—to meet there again on Friday next 3 Nov., all except the commons of Cockermouth. Parson Thurkylde and I showed our message to the mayor, who desired respite till the morrow. We then went back and found what stay had been taken, and sent Edward Patenson to inform the mayor of it. On Friday 3 Nov. the captains and commons of Penrith and most of the country except Cockermouth, came to Brunfelde Oke beside Carlisle, and thither came Christopher Dacre under safe conduct, and he and I, with Parson Thurkylde, Riche Bewnley, Cudbert Hutton, and others persuaded the commons, the vicar of Burght being absent, to disperse and make no further insurrection. Sir Christopher and I were to desire the mayor that the commons might be received in Carlisle as before, and I to desire the lord Clyfforth in the castle "that the soldiers should not ride on the commons." We went and showed this to the mayor, and proclamation was made of it; and then I and Edward Eglanby went to the castle and showed it to lord Clyfforth, who was well content.

Never after this came amongst the commons. Begs he may be partaker of the king's pardon to his subjects north of Trent, protesting he was with the commons against his will.

The beginners of the insurrection in Cumberland were the four captains of Penrith; Faith, Poverty, Pity, and Charith, as the vicar of Burght proclaimed them at each meeting.

The cause of the insurrection was that the vicar of Burght read a letter from Richmondshire, as he said, to this tenor, "Well beloved brethren in God, we greet you well, signifying unto you that we your brethren in Christ have assembled us

* Moota.

in

in readiness for the maintenance of the faith of God, His laws, and His Church, and where abbeys was suppressed we have restored them again and put the religious men into their houses, wherefore we exhort you to do the same." This he read, calling himself Poverty, chaplain and secretary." Knows not who brought it.

Conjectures that the intention was to destroy the gentlemen, that none should pay ingressoms to his landlord, and little or no rent or tithe.

The last insurrection by Westmorland, Penrith and Greystoke made a "sawtt" at Carlisle on Friday before the first Sunday of Lent. Heard of no captains but Nocholas Musgreve and Thomas Thebe, and never a gentleman among them. The commons of Cockermouth who came down the Saturday and Sunday after perceiving that Calbeyke would not rise, retired.

(ADDITION).—There were four captains in Cumberland—Thomas Byrkbek, Gilbert Whelpedale, John Beke, and Robert Mounsey—who went in procession in the parish church daily, when there with their 4 swords drawn, following the vicar of Browgh. After the Gospel the vicar gave them one of X commandments and this was called the captains' mass. The vicar was taken for a prophet.

ii. 20 March. Bernard Towneley, examined by John Tregunwell, Ric. Layton, and Thomas Leigh, Doctors of Law.

(1) Was in no way privy to the 2nd commotion. (2) Never sent but two letters to his master the Bp of Carlisle. The first was that he trusted, when the country was more pacified, to gather his revenues, the second was that after Norfolk was come, and the country quiet, he would "do his diligence for his discharge, meaning to gather the King's money." (3) Never had, at his last being here, any communication with the Bp of Carlisle concerning any intended insurrection or commotion.

WILLIAM COLYNS, BAILIFF OF KENDAL.

[1537. Cal. No. 914.]

Examination taken 12 April, 1537, in the Tower of London, before Dr. Legh, Dr. Peter, and Mr. Lieutenant, in the presence of me, John ap Rice, notary public, registrar, &c.

Wm. Colyns, bailiff of Kendal, examined, says that George Willan and Wm Garnet, of Dent, some 10 days before any insurection in Kendal, came to Kendal town and showed Sir James Laborne of the commons of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Richmondshire, who were up and had warned Dent and Sedbery to come in to them or the would come and spoil the countries of Dent, Sedberg, and Kendal. They desired advice of Mr. Layborne as steward there under Mr. Parre to withstand the said rebels. He told them to be still and meddle not, as they afterwards said to examinat, who also advised them not to meddle and said, "If we may enjoy our old ancient (?) customs here, we have no cause to rise." The said two persons before leaving Kendal that night, Saturday, talked of the insurrection with divers light persons of the town, who next morning at daybreak assembled divers of the North Street of Kendal, and roused men from their beds and

and sware them, in a croft by, to be true to God, the King, and their ancient laudable customs. The ringleaders were Tom Dockwray and Brian Jopson, as examinat afterwards heard. The person so conjurate decided to fetch in the honest men of the town, and fetched examinat from his dinner to a place called Tarney Banks, where the whole town was assembled without harness, and there examinat and the rest of the town were sworn. They all went thence to Mr. Laybornes and desired him to help them against their enemies, to be good to them concerning their laudable customs and to take their oath. He refused to swear them, but left his seal with his friends there, who promised him that he would do as other gentlemen did; and the same night Nicholas Layborne, in his brother's name, and Mr. Strikelande sealed to a book that was read concerning their customs. On Friday following six of the town went to Mr. Laybornes house, viz., Adam Warenner, George Rowlandson, John Harryson, Robert Sledale, Chr. Sadler, and this examinat, to have desired his help and favour but he was not at home. Both before the insurrection and after, examinat and others petitioned Mr. Layborne to be good to them for their ancient customs, saying that their was no reason that where his father took 4 mks. for an "ingressum" he should take £40, "seeing they were bound there to the marches without wages upon the wardens procalmation, beacon, or letter." They asked him to use his lands as the King and Mr. Parre did theirs, else Sir Robert Belingham and ither freeholders would do the like. On Saturday after Dent and Sedbar were up, as Richard Walker showed at Kendal; whereupon they of Kendal, by the advice of Ric. Tucket and Mr. Knevet, wrote to them of Dent not to meddle with the barony of Kendal "for they had nought to do with them." They replied that they of Kendal town should meet them on Monday after by 10 o'clock at Ennesmore, or else they would spoil them with 10,000 men. The townsmen sent to Mr. Layborne's brother Nicholas (who advised examinat to raise the town for defence, "but he afterwards himself sticked not by it") and to Richard Duckett and Mr. Strikelande for help; who came to the town's ends, but did not join the townsmen. On the Monday the townsmen to the number of 500 at Ennesmore met with Dent's 10,000 men, who asked whether they were sworn, and they said yes. They said their gentlemen would not come with them, whereupon they of Dent said "If ye can not rule them, we shall rule them". The vicar of Clappam, James Cowper, John Middleton, John Hebyllthwayt of Sedbar, Wm. Garnet and George Willan of Dent, and James Buskell of Myddelton, being the ringleaders, took counsel with the Captain Atkynson, and then the vicar, in the name of Captain Poverty, made proclamation for all to meet next day at Kendal by 8 a.m. to know the lord Poverty's pleasure. "The vicar was the common swearer and counsellor in all that business, and persuaded the people that they should go to heaven if they died in that quarrel".

On the morrow, Tuesday, they came to Kendal town, and from thence had gone half way towards Mr. Layborne's house, when on his friend's promise that he would come in on the morrow by 5 o'clock, and by reason of the foul weather, they turned back. On Wednesday they went thither again and spoiled the house indeed, but on his friend's promise that he should come in they went not to extremity then. On Thursday they were appointed to spoil both his manors, but his brother, Parson Layborne, gave them of Dent and Sedburg £20 to respite him till Friday following; at which time he and all the other gentlemen came in to the rebels, and were sworn at Tolbothe in Kendal. And so on Saturday they went to Lancaster, mustering by the way at Kellet More. Of gentlemen, the most

most noteable there were Sir James Layborne, Parson Layborne, William Lancaster, Ric. Ducket, and Walter Strikelande; Sir Robert Belingham came as far as Kelet More and then returned home as his leg was sore, as he said. Atkyson was captain, chosen by Dent and Sedber.

At Lancaster they sware the mayor and town, and heard that Sir Stephen Hamurton and Nicholas Tempest besides Salley had sworn the country about them. Young Strikeland, saying that Sir Stephen had written to him to come to him, examinat and his friends advised him not to do so, but to return home. They therefore made proclamation for all to meet on Bouton More the Tuesday after and dispersed. Within three days came a letter from Robert Aske, showing them of the first order taken at Lancaster and requiring them to "send of every parishen one gentleman and two yeomen of the tallest and wisest men, well horsed and harnessed, to Pomfret, that of them might be taken out a certain [number] to meet with the Duke of Norfolk at the next meeting at Doncastsr." Kendal town sent examinat and one Brown and the barony Mr. Ducket, Edward Manser, and Mr. Strikelande, Anthony Langhorne, John Eyrey, and Harry Bateman; and the morrow after Lady Day before Xmas they received the King's pardon at Pomfret, which they have to show in Kendal town under the king's broad seal at examinat's house, brought 14 days after Our Lady Day Clarencieux the herald, who made proclamation of it the said 14th day in Kendal. And because certain farmers of priories showed him how divers brethren took their corn from them "and therefore like to have been murder between them about the same," the herald openly commanded in the king's name that no man should be disturbed in the possession of lands or tithes, but all to continue as at the last meeting at Doncaster till the Duke of Norfolk came again to the country, which should be about 20 days after Xmas. As the herald was leaving, came two brethren of the late priory of Carpmell, and desired the herald to write that order for them; but as he could not tarry he begged examinat, his host, to write them a word or two of the effect of the order. And thereupon examinat wrote them the order to this effect—"Neighbours of Carpmell, so it is that the king's herald hath made proclamation here that every man, [under] pain of high treason, should suffer every thing as farms, tithes, and such other, to be in like stay and order concerning possessions as they were in time of the last meeting at Doncaster, except ye will of your charity help the brethen there somewhat toward their board, till my lord of Norfolk come again and take further order therein." This was written partly in presence of the said herald, Mr. Duckett, and others, and afterwards delivered by examinat to one of the said brethren. Four of the brethren of Carpmell and eight yeomen were executed for withstanding the king's farmer, Mr. Holcrofte, and stirring a new commotion 8 weeks after the premises, without the knowledge of the examinat or any other of Kendal. When he was at York on Saturday before Our Lady Day before Xmas he asked Dr. Dakyns if he would command him any service to the north. He said "Yes he would write to the abbot of Furness for money." Examinat answered "Seeing you were at Pomefrete and know what order was taken there, I pray you write also to the priors of Conyshedd and Carpmell, seeing ye be their visitors and give them your counsel what is best for them to do." So on the morrow examinat at his host's house, received Dakyn's letters to the priors of Conyshed and Carpmell sealed which he forwarded, on coming home to Kendal, by a market man. It was eight weeks after the delivery of these letters ere they of Carpmell and Conyshed made commotion and stayed the farmers from taking their corn. One Atkyson, a captain of the rebels

rebels in those parts, and Gilpyn, his petty captain, came, twice between the meetings at Doncaster and once since the pardon was proclaimed, to stir Kendal, and the last time cried, "Commons," but the townsmen drave them out, and hurt some of them, the steward and lieutenant being absent in another shire. On Sunday after Xmas Day last certain lewd persons of Kendal town who were the most busy in the first insurrection, stirred up suddenly at bead's bidding, and would have the priest bid the beads the old way and pray for the Pope. Then ext. fetched the King's pardon from his house, and he and one Bricket, the King's servant, charged them, as they would enjoy that pardon, to be still, and showed them the pardon. And they cried "Down, carle, thou art false to the commons." And Wm. Harryson said he cared for no pardon. At last parson Layborne rose and persuaded them to let the beads be bid, as the priest would until the Duke of Norfolk's coming. The principals of that business were Thom. Armestronge, Thom. Dockraye, Oliver Ydell, Peter Warrenner, James Taillor, jun., shoemaker, and Wm. Harryson. Ext. the same night sent to one Ducket, a justice of peace, and to Mr. Layborne the steward to come and punish the said captains. Ducket came and did his best with words, but the steward was out of the country. On that day month following, Sir Walter Browne, second curate there, upon a tumult by divers lewd persons, said "Commons, I will bid the beads as ye will have me." And so did, and prayed for the Pope and Cardinals. One John Nycholson, of Kendal parish, woolman, brought a little bill, without signature, directed to the parishioners of Kendal, that two of them should be at Richmond for a council to be had there the next Monday; which bill he delivered to a maid of ext's, and bade her deliver it to ext. This she did, and thereupon ext. went to Nicholas Layborne, the steward's deputy, and asked what punishment he deserved who should spread about such letters. Layborne sent for Nycholson and asked where he had the letter. He said it was sent him from the captain of Westmoreland, Nicholas Musgrave, with commandment to deliver it to a constable or bailey of Kendal. "And Nich. Layborne said he was worthy to sit by the heels therefor in the dungeon, and cast him the bill again, and bade him deliver it again where he had it."

After this the ext. and five others of Kendal, having been with my lord of Norfolk and the council at York, and being licensed to go home, to put the country in stay, returned home and found all the country stirring by reason of letters sent abroad by Atkynson, Leche, Musgrave, and Staveley, captains of Westmoreland, to this effect, "that they should come and take their neighbours of Westmorelands part." Sir Michael Nutthed was one of those who carried the letter. Ext. and his neighbours who came from York stayed the country from going forward.

As to the ultimate fate of Towneley, Thompson, and Colyn, there is much uncertainty. In a list of prisoners in the Tower, and the charges for their maintenance, we find Dr. Towneley eight months at 5s., and Robert Thompson three months at 6s. 8d. per week. Colyn's name is not in the list, and no dates are given. Things looked black for Towneley; in an ominous list of persons "to

"to be excepted from the King's pardon," stand the names of Nich. Musgrave and Towneley, late chancellor to the bishop of Carlisle. The only other notice of Towneley is in a letter dated 15th August, 1537, from Robert Aldridge,* almoner to the Queen, and bishop designate of Carlisle to Cromwell. He says:—

Received of the 14th inst., his (Cromwell's) letter, stating it was the King's wish that he should confer the Vicarage of St. Michael's, Appleby, void by the resignation of Bernard Towneley, on Cuthbert Ogle. Knows not the man's ability, but as the King and Cromwell take him for a meet man, cannot but think him so. Understands that he cannot cause him to be inducted before he is consecrated himself, &c., &c.

This would be written about the middle of Towneley's time in the Tower.

For Wm. Colyn there appears much hope. In a list of Cromwell's "remembrance" (matters to be attended to), is an item, "Pickering the priest's pardon"—"for Colyn's bailiff of Kendal." [1537. No. 192. Vol. 12, pt. 2.]

Colyn, under popular pressure, took part in the rebellion, but evidently used his influence in preventing excesses and preserving order, hence his prospects of pardon. But dismal indeed was the look out for the poor vicar of Brough, as indicated by the following letter.

ROBERT THOMPSON,† CLK., TO CROMWELL.

[1537. No. 1339. Vol. 12, pt. 2, no date.]

Was brought before Cromwell in Lent last for praying for the bishop of Rome at the compulsion of his parishioners, whom he durst not contrary, and committed to the Tower, and thence to the King's Bench. What with age, corrupt and stinking smells, cold and hunger, if not for the hope he had in Cromwell, he had not been alive now. Begs his intercession with the King.

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* Otherwise *Robert Oldridge*, bishop of Carlisle, 1537 to 1556.
† Note in Calendars "The Vicar of Brough."

APPENDIX.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS CONNECTED WITH ASKE'S REBELLION.

The 1st following report gives a graphic sketch of the rebel camp, and of the sympathy and practical countenance of the landed gentry, as well as the commonalty.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION.

Report made by Henry Osberne, of Gloucester, and John Yngby, constable of Maydynhyth, on St. Andrew's Eve last, and after to Sulvester Pecke, gent.

[1536, 29 Nov. Cal. No. 1195.]

Went Northward with his father, as a soldier with Sir Chas. à Trowen. After being a space with the King's host, asked leave of his father to go among the Northern host to know the fashion of them. Was with them three or four days. They have meat and drink enough, many of them harness of deer skins. Their chief captain is a knight, but he does not know his name. Lord Stafford came to them with 1,000 men, and lady Rysse with 3,000. She brought half a cart-load of plate, which they are coining among themselves. He has a groat of the same coin, which the constable has to show, "and yt ys a feyne king Harry grote." The saying is among them that the lady Dowager is alive and not buried. At the Duke of Norfolk's last coming, many of his men went over to the other side, and then my lord was not content with them, "and then one of his men did start to him with a dagger and said if he would not return to them he should die for it". They have proclaimed to have a parliament among them.

The nearer the rebellion spread to the Scottish borders, the more King Henry became alarmed. The Scottish king had become connected by marriage with the French king, and was daily expected to arrive with his bride by sea, so that Henry might well think that his throne would be in danger if King James made common cause with the English rebels.

Hence the vigilance of the officers of the West Marches displayed in the following articles.

JOHN LOWTHER AND JAK MUSGRAVE TO [EARL OF] CUMBERLAND.

Jak Musgraf's espial and Lowther's man agree that the council expect daily the [Scotch] King's arrival, that all the ships of the West coast have gone out to meet him, and that on his coming home they will have war. All the commons of Scotland are ordered to have "new jak, new spere, and knapskawde." Carlisle, 24 April.

JOHN

JOHN LOWTHER TO [EARL OF] (CUMBERLAND.)

Has received his lordship's letter this St. Mark's eve, expressing the King's pleasure for the fortification of Carlisle. If victual be sent there is no mill in the castle to grind it, and if your lordship had good ordnance there is none to shoot them. Therefore make provision in time "for either war of Scotland now when the King's purse is full of the French gold, or never," and the common voice of Scotland is war. Sent his man to Edinburgh to await the Scotch king's coming, which is expected on May Day at farthest. Despatched him the sooner as the wind is in his favour. Norfolk should be advertised of the defenceless state of Carlisle. Carlisle Castle, St. Mark's Day.

PACIFICATION OF THE BORDERS.

The rebellion having been finally extinguished, leading landowners and men of military proclivities were appointed as officers to assist the Lord Warden of the West Marches in maintaining the peace of the Borders, with fees or annuities allotted to them.

Various preliminary lists had been drawn up. One such list is thus criticised by the Duke of Norfolk.

[1537, 12 July. Cal. No. 248.]

In delivering the King's letters, missives, and those for annuities, retained six, by the advice of Sir Thos. Warton, for these reasons: 1 There is no such man as Thos. Redmayne. 2 Wm. and John Hutton are but freeholders and can do little service. 3 Wm. Lancaster cannot spend 40s. a year and can do nothing. 4 Richard Blanko* a man of small havour either of lands or goods and one the most busy [rebellious] men in these parts, better deserved a halter than his Highness' fee. There are omitted Sir Thomas Curwen the man of all others that can best serve in Cumberland. Walter Strickland who can serve with more men than any three in the book, a very toward young man and great friend of Whartons; Thomas Faloghfield belonging to my lord of Cumberland, John Skelton of Branthwaite and Chr. Wharton, brother to Sir Thomas. Writes at Sir Thomas' desire that these may have fees with the rest. . . . . .

The Duke then proceeds to give Penrith a bad record. He says:—

Hearing that the 'sizes of Cumberland are to be at Penrith and not at Carlisle. begs they may be changed. Penrith was the worst town in all the country at the last rebellion and Norfolk caused nine persons to be hanged there whereas Cromwell knows how Carlisle served; it were better Mr. Spilman and Jenney † should ride 10 miles about that one true town be discouraged and a false one cherished.

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* Blencoe.
† The Judges on circuit.

The

The following is the final list of Officers for the West Marches:—

[Cal. No. 250.]

Sir Wm. Musgrave, Sir John Lowther, Thomas Sandford, Esqr., Sir John Lamplough, Sir James Layburn, Sir Jeffray Myddelton, Sir Robt. Bellingham, Edward Aglionbye, Esqr., Ric. Dokett, gent, Sir Thomas Curwen, John Musgrave and Walter Strykland each £10, Thomas Daker, gent, Chr. Crakenthorpe, 4 names lost by mutilation [apparently those of John Warcopp, Lancelot Lancaster, Gilbert Wharton and Hugh Machel, which appear in No. 249] John Lighe, John Skelton [of Branthwaite] Thomas Dykes, John Thwaytes, Cuthbert Hutton, Thomas Blanderhasset, Chr. Thyrkell, Mungo Musgrave, Ric. Englefield, Alex. Appulbye, Rob. Boyst, John Preston, gent, and Thomas Clyfford the bastard each 6l. 13s. 4d. Chr. Wharton, Thomas Dalston, John Skelton of Armathwaite each 6l. 13s. 4d. Sir Geo. Lawson 20l.

ART. XIX.—*Hawkshead Folk-lore.—Charms, Superstition, Witchcraft, and Traditional Customs.* BY H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

Communicated at Coniston, Sept. 16th, 1896.

IT may possibly be somewhat out of place to bring before the notice of a practical body such as the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, subjects so eminently unpractical and fanciful as those mentioned in the title of this paper. But there is not, within the district worked by this Society, anything in the shape of Folk-lore Society, and I venture to think that some of the curious customs and superstitions, which will be hereafter mentioned, are, indeed, worthy of some sort of notice at our hands, for all of them, even those foolish ghost stories of more modern date, embody rather the traditional survivals of a past age, than the feelings of the present day.

First, I would call your attention to the subject of charms,—fanciful and superstitious remedies for various ailments: and in doing so I would beg you all to remember that although the old life of our dalesmen and statesmen was sufficiently remote from civilisation, and might well be expected to lead to an appreciation of all that is uncanny and inexplicable, yet the people were not, as a matter of fact, superstitious,—that is to say as compared with the people of some other parts of the kingdom. Superstition, indeed, is rather racial, and it is more among the Celtic counties than among the Saxon or Scandinavian, that the Folk-lorist and ghost-hunter may expect a good harvest.

But to return to charms. A year or two ago our member, Mr. S. Marshall, was good enough to send me some papers which he had found among the title deeds of the Skelwith

Skelwith Fold estate, near Ambleside. Amongst them were two curious charms for bleeding and burns, which had turned up among the papers of the Bullclose farm,* of the years 1736-51. They run as follows:—

† To stop Bleeding in Man or Beast at any Distance, first you must have some Drops of ye Blood upon a Linen Ragg and wrap a Little Roman Vitrioll upon this Ragg put it under your oxter (armpit) and say these words thrice into yrself There was a Man Born in Bethlem of Judea Whose name was Called Christ. Baptized in the River Jordan In the Watter of the flood and the Child also was meak and good and as the watter stood So I desire thee the Blood of Such a person or Beast to stand in their Bodie in the name of the father son and Holy Ghost Amen. Then Look into the Ragg and at that moment the Blood stopeth the Blew powder is Turned into Blood by sympathy.

The other is as follows:—

To cure Burns or Scalds by Blowing thrice and Saying these words after each Blowing Coutha Cold under the Clay Trembleing is there any here that would Learn of the Dead to Cure the sores of Burning in the Name of God And in the name of God be it Amen. First say then Blow then say then Blow then say then Blow and it is done.

At the head of Esthwaite Lake, near where the road crosses the beck, between the town and Colthouse, once stood a gibbet (mentioned in the parish registers in 1672),

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* Bullclose and Skelwith Fold both formerly belonged to the Bensons.

† Compare with these the following from the Liber Loci Benedict de Whalley, 1296-1316, cited in *Lancashire Folk-lore*, by Jno. Harland, F.S.A., and T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S., 1882, p. 77.

"For staunching bleeding from the nostrils, or from the wounds, an approved remedy—O God, be thou merciful to this Thy servant N., nor allow to flow from his body more than one drop of blood. So may it please the Son of God. So his mother Mary. In the name of the Father, stop O Blood! In the name of the Son stop, O Blood! In the name of the Holy Ghost, stop O Blood! In the name of the Holy Trinity."

"To staunch Bleeding: A Soldier of old thrust a lance into the side of the Saviour; immediately there flowed thence blood and water—the blood of Redemption, and the water of Baptism. In the name of th Father X may the blood cease. In the name of the Son X may the blood remain. In the the name of the Holy Ghost X may no more blood flow from the mouth, vein, or nose."

of

of which old inhabitants can still remember the stump standing. Within the memory of man there was a common belief that a fragment torn from the rotting fragment of this gallows, and placed in an aching tooth, formed a sure cure.

The old idea that the seventh son has a miraculous power of healing is well-known, and it has been conjectured that it owes its origin to the story of the seven sons of Sceva the Jew (Acts. xix, 13).* Of this superstition I have come across but one example. Mr. Tyson, of Hawkshead, who keeps the local branch of the Bank of Liverpool, was one of the old stock of Tysons of Little Langdale. He was one of a large family, and one of his brothers being a seventh son, was sought out by a woman working in the Coniston copper-mines, in order to be cured of some ailment on the arm, perhaps scrofula.† Mr. Tyson's brother held no faith in such healing, but the woman persisted, and came once every week for seven weeks, early in the morning, to Dale End farm, when the operator had to tie some sort of a charm or spell round her neck. The cure was effected, although the operator had no belief in it. The local value of this story, however, is somewhat lost, as it is believed that the patient was a Cornish or Devonshire woman, and brought the superstition with her.

A somewhat similar superstition comes from the hamlet of Outgate, where, within the memory of man, there resided a woman (one of a somewhat uncanny family, of whom more anon), who possessed the power of curing jaundice by a spell. In this case there may have really

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* See Dr. Barnes' paper "On touching for King's evil," in Vol. xiii. of our *Transactions*, p. 362.

† In 1786 there is the following entry in Hawkshead Parish Account Book:—"Journey horse hire and expenses to Backbarrow to Eliner Preston to take her child to Mr. Kellets of Long Sleddale to be cured of a scabbed head 2/6." This may have been a charm, as there was then a doctor at Hawkshead.

been

been some power of diagnosis, for the patient had simply to take some urine to the operator, and no medicine was given.

DIVINATION (*Bibliomancy*).

Somewhat akin to these spells was Divination by Bible and key, of which I have heard of two instances within the parish. Unfortunately, old people who remember the existance of such practices have, as a rule, forgotten the details, but we must content ourselves with the evidence of the existance of them within the memory of man, which is, after all, the main point. The first case is that of John M——, of Outgate, father to Thos. M——, of Field-held, who recently died at an advanced age.

My informant believes that John M. (who gave up the use of the bible and key with advanced years), used it to ascertain if anyone was acting maliciously towards him. What exactly was done at the time, except that some words were spoken, cannot now be ascertained, but it was evidently a form of divination. Another instance was given me by Miss U——, of Monk Coniston, now about 75 years of age, who remembers, as a girl, seeing it practised by a servant at Hollow Oak, in Colton, to ascertain if some individual who had thrown a stone through her window was a certain groom whom she suspected. This took place some sixty years ago. *

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* Divination by Bible and key. I extract the following from "*Lancashire Folk-lore*," where it is quoted from "Notes and Queries," vol. ii., p. 5. "When some choice specimen of the "Lancashire Witches" thinks it necessary to decide upon selecting a suitor from among the number of her admirers she not unfrequently calls in the aid of the Bible and a key to assist in deciding her choice. Having opened the Bible at the passage in Ruth "Whither thou goest will I go, &c." and having carefully placed the wards of the key upon the verses, she ties the book firmly with a piece of cord, and having mentioned the name of an admirer, she very solemnly repeats the passage in question, at the same time holding the bible suspended, by joining the ends of the little fingers inserted under the handle of the key. If the key retain its position during the repetition, the person whose name has been mentioned is considered to be rejected: and so another name is tried till the book turns round and falls through the fingers, which is held to be a sure token the name just mentioned is that of an individual who will certainly marry her."

SUPERSTITIOUS

SUPERSTITIOUS CUSTOMS.

Amongst the strange customs practised in out-of-the-way parts of the north, in former times, was that of firing over the house of a newly wedded couple, on the night after the marrriage. This practice was observed till quite recent times in Hawkshead parish, and was certainly done some ten or eleven years ago, and is probably not extinct. I have been told that it was supposed to secure a plentiful issue of the marriage. On these occasions the firing party expected a present which was termed "hen silver".

There are, of course, innumerable other customs connected with marriages and births, but here it is only my intention to notice such survivals as I have heard of in the Hawkshead district. Thus I find it is still the custom for old ladies, when visiting a woman after child-birth, to carry with them a pound of sweet butter.

This brings to memory another butter custom, the practice of placing a twig of rowan in the cream to make the butter come. Rowan had powerful anti-witchcraft effects, and when butter would not come it was considered due to magic. I have heard a story of milk bewitched by a woman at Nibthwaite Grange, so that for days and days no butter could be churned.* Mr. W. G. Collingwood, in his recent paper on "Manx Names in Cumbria," mentions, as a possible survival of tree-worship, the dressing of trees with rags and crockery at Satterthwaite and Hawkshead hill. Well-worship was a common custom in Scotland, and with tree-worship can be traced in many parts of the world, the pilgrimage to wells being really one for health which was to come from the powers, whether supernatural or natural, of the water. But they are

* Mr. Ellwood (Landnama Book of Iceland, vol. xii., *Cum. and West. Arch. and Ant. Soc.*, p. 302) has shown us that the rowan was holy in Iceland, being dedicated to Thor, and connected with many superstitions. Thor was saved from drowning by a rowan tree.

extremely

extremely difficult matters to get the people of the country to speak of. If they have any faith, they fear to own to what they feel we should regard as superstition. This reticence, caused often by a dread of ridicule, makes it very difficult to gain information on what appear to be last surviving relics of pre-Christian rites in England.

Mr. Ellwood, in his paper on the Landnama Book,* has called our attention to the singular and interesting custom of keeping alight for generations the same household fire. Mr. Ellwood alludes to a "well-known instance in our own neighbourhood," by which I imagine, although he does not actually say so, he means the case of the lonely moorland farmsteads of Parkamoore and Lawson park on the fells to the east of Coniston. Of this subject Mr. A. Craig-Gibson, writing in 1864, says :—

> Previous to the invention of lucifer matches, and probably for long after, the fire on the stone "hearths of these two 'Granges'" had not been extinguished, it was said, for many centuries, probably not even yet. Their fuel being peat, was easily kept smouldering throughout the longest night, while their distance from neighbours, and the consequent difficulty of providing means of re-lighting their fires, if extinguished, made their many generations of inmates careful to preserve them alight.

That in this remarkable custom there was more than the actual difficulty of making fire, cannot be doubted. There are plenty of savage races who have not matches, yet find the difficulty of obtaining fire by flint or friction, not such as to necessitate their keeping a never-dying fire. The origin and tradition, long lost now in the dim past, must have sprung, we can hardly doubt, from that strange yet perfectly explicable reverence so common in certain stages of civilisation, and so marked in the East, that the

* The Landnama Book of Iceland, as it illustrates the Dialect, Folk-lore, and Antiquities of Cumberland, Westmorland, and North Lancashire. *Transactions m. and West. Arch. and Ant. Soc.*, xii, p. 289-90.

flame

flame typified and symbolised the fertilising power of the sun, and of all things; in truth, the fountain head of all forms of nature worship.

I would mention one other curious custom in the parish, hardly, however, superstitious, though as it is unpublished and may be of remote antiquity, I venture to allude to here. As late as a generation since, there was held in the little hamlet of Outgate, a most curious law court, which in the belief of those who can yet recall it, was rather a frolic, than a traditional custom, handed down from old times. To this, however, I cannot help feeling a certain amount of doubt, and I place the subject before this Society in the hope that similar cases may be chronicled.

It appears that at Outgate certain of the residents were elected to certain dignities as follows :—

The Bishop	John Martin *
Lord Short of Birkwray	William Warriner, Birkwray
Justice	John Rigg †
Parson	Rowley Scales

This quorum sat upon and really adjudicated minor offences, imposing (as far as I can ascertain), small fines on cases of drunkenness, &c. The court did not, it appears, assemble on any special day of the year, and may really have acted as a slight check on the behaviour of the wilder spirits, in those days when petty sessions were held no nearer than Ulverston or Lakeside. It is worth notice that in the parish register, under burials, we find the following entry which may refer to the same custom two hundred and sixty years ago.

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* His son Thomas Martin, commonly called "Tommy," died recently, and by his death the parish lost one whose honest nature made him beloved by all who knew him. Thomas Martin was a fine specimen of the old type of Furness cottager, and in his earlier years was a man of great personal strength.

† Father of the present Mr. James Rigg, of Lockhow.

ffebruary xxvijth Jo: Rigg lord.

Whether this Outgate mock court has any connection with the curious customs prevalent once in various parts of England, of choosing a mock mayor and holding a procession, and between which and the old village moot assemblies and certain customs practised by the non-Aryan castes in Indian villages, Mr. G. L. Gomme has suggested parallels in his work on "The Village Community," is worthy of consideration. We may hope that similar cases may be noticed in other parts of this district, which should form evidence to prove or disprove the question.

WITCHCRAFT.

There was nobbut twa witches iver com't inta England
T'ya was bacca, and t'udder was teea,
Yan was borned, and t'udder was scorched to deeath.

Cumberland saying.

Although witchcraft was generally believed in all over England in the middle ages, relics of this superstition are, fortunately, not common now-a-days, and in the Hawkshead district there are few among the county people who can recall anything concerning the subject. An instance has already been referred to, of a woman bewitching the milk, which is, however, nearer akin to the "evil eye" than to real witchcraft. A queerer story, however, came to me from an old man now close on eighty, who distinctly remembers his mother talk of what appears to be a true witchcraft case. It appears that formerly, but how long since I could not ascertain, there lived at Outgate, a family of the name of W——, whose proceedings were generally so uncanny that there was much talk about them. One of them, a woman, was specially notorious, and possessed the faculty of changing her shape and appearing as an animal. The hounds while working the valley

valley would find a hare, and after an exciting chase after puss, she generally disappeared mysteriously near Outgate, leaving the hounds at fault. One day the hounds ran the hare right into the hamlet, and making straight for one of the houses, it jumped straight for an open window. At that moment, however, it was seized by the hind leg by the foremost hound, and at the same time came a wild screaming chorus from inside the house—

Switch Grandy switch
Here comes t'black bitch.

But it was too late, and as the excited huntsman ran to the spot, he found instead of the hare, the notorious witch of Outgate.

The only other witch story I am aware of, connected with this district, is that told in Mr. Graig-Gibson's interesting little book, "The Old Man."* Unfortunately, Mr. Gibson gives us no notes as to where he obtained the story, but I believe that old folks certainly have a tradition about a stone in Yewdale beck now, but whether they got it from Mr. Gibson's book, or he from them, is perhaps rather uncertain.

As Mr. Gibson's book is not easy to obtain, I quotc him in full:—

In these pious and enlightened times, when the profession and practice of witchcraft were so common that very few women could grow old and ugly, especially if they were also poor, without being suspected of having sold their immortal part to the Father of evil, a very old woman whose name has not been preserved, but the certainty of whose commerce with the devil no one ever doubted, dwelt in a hut upon the point of land which runs into the lake near the mouth of this brook. After practising the ordinary routine of a witch-woman's life for several years, it is said that, as the time drew near for the fulfilment of her short-sighted bargain, she was seized

* *The Old Man*, or Ravings and Ramblings round Coniston. London, 1849, p. 74.

with

with terror and remorse, and resolved to try whether she might not find a means of nullifying the agreement and evading payment of the fearful penalty to be exacted from her in return for the evil power with which her master had endued her old age; and, with this object, she visited a holy man, one of the monks of Saint Mary of Furness, who was stationed at the place now called Bank Ground, which stands pleasantly upon the opposite side of the lake. He, when made aware of all the hearings of the case, offered some hope of redemption from the consequences of her contract, on the conditions of teetotal abstinence from any future indulgence in the evil art, abnegation of the devil, his works and devices, and a course of penance so severe and protracted, as to make the penitent witch think the cure almost as bad as the disease, but concern for "her pore sole," as Wilfrid Jenkins pathetically designates it, determined her to accept of Father Brian's terms, provided he could secure her against the power of Satan in the interim. Being instructed to flee for her life, and to call loudly upon Father Brian and Saint Herbert for aid, should Beelzebub come, as was likely, to claim his own before the completion of her saving penance had rescued her from his dreaded clutches, she returned home, and turned over a new leaf, beginning to lead a tolerably exemplary life. As might be expected, the other contracting party was not long in hearing of this unpardonable breach of faith, and one evening he startled his quondam disciple by making his appearance at the door of her domicile, when she, remembering the monk's instructions, darted through the open window, and sped, with the speed of light, directly up the course of this beck (Yewdale Beck), screaming loudly for succour, as directed. She had reached the site of the bridge, and her pursuer was just about to lay his claws upon her, when the saint or the monk, or both heard her, and the devil's foot . . . . . was set upon that stone, the heel sank into the ridge upon its surface, and the stone hardening, he was held fast by the heel, and thus, by the miraculous intervention of the dead saint or the living monk, the penitent witch escaped.

The scene of this story is a wooden bridge called Bannockstone bridge over Yewdale Beck, and a short distance south of the main road, where it crosses the beck. Bannockstone Bridge was formerly a stone erection, and Mr. Gibson instructs the visitor to examine beneath it a large stone bearing so remarkable an imprint of a heel, that it was the sight of it which caused him to inquire for a legend with the above result. I must confess that

that my search for a stone here, in any way remarkable, has been quite fruitless.

Fairies and Hobthrushes.

In Furness we are not in Fairyland, and enquiries as to traditions of the little people call forth the scantiest and vaguest information. Thus I learned from one old inhabitant that in his young days he heard strange stories of the doings of these folks in the fairs and market at Ambleside, and elsewhere. In the guise of ordinary folks they would mix with the crowds, and then, by blowing at the market women at the stalls, they became invisible, after which, taking a mean advantage of their position, they proceeded to steal things off the stalls. My informant remembered also that a certain place called "Frankhouse Steads" had a bad reputation this way. From his description this place (which seems to be unknown now and is not marked on any map), was somewhere in the vicinity of Tarnhaws. Strangely enough, this tradition was mixed up in my informant's head with the story of the robber, called Castlehow, who lived on Hawkshead Moor, and the date of the apprehension of whom is proved by the Parish Account Book, to have been as late as 1785.

In Langdale, however, we hear of a harmless sort of spirit, which seems akin to the "brownie" or hobthush.* The places which were reputed to be visited by this harmless being were the "Busk" and the "Forge," and the principal occupation of the visitor seems to have been the churning of the farmer's cream by night, when the family had retired to rest. A wasteful goblin he seems to

* The hobthrush (*Dickinson's Glossary*, English Dialect Society) was also sometimes called the "throbthrush" (see the *Lonsdale Magazine*, vol. iii, p. 254). He was, as a rule, a good devil, often helping the farmer in his work, but as often as not performing some mischievous prank, which did more harm than the good he had done. Churning for the farmer seems to have been a favourite pastime. This gentle goblin seems now extinct, or I should have procured one to exhibit to the Society. *Requiescat in pace.*

have

have been in this case, for near the latter place the people used to find bits of butter scattered about in the woods, apparently dropped by the uncanny visitor in his flight.

Dobbies and Flayans.

Formerly, I am told by one of the oldest inhabitants of the parish, that Dobbies and Flayans were "aw up and down," and children hardly dare put their noses out of the doors at night. Be this as it may, the stories one can get concerning them are neither very fearful nor very numerous. There are, however, certain localities which have long had a bad reputation, which, indeed, clings to most of them, and in some of these, there are not a few living people who can say something on the subject. My own belief is that in most cases we have in these haunts, very early forms of northern superstition, which generally get localised on certain sites, on the occurrence of tragedies such as suicides or murders.

It is very curious that the road which runs on the margin of Esthwaite, on every side, is badly haunted in several places. The most widely known and least explicable, however, is certainly the Waterside Boggle, which has frightened many an honest man on the road between Lake Field, the residence of the late Mrs. Ogden, and the cottage at Waterside, which was at one time the Claife poorhouse. The peculiarity of the uncanny place is the various forms the appearance has taken. It has been seen as a man in light blue, as an animal, neither calf nor donkey, as a white fox or foxes. In most cases the apparition is sighted by a night pedestrian, and when approached, suddenly and silently disappears.

It is worth while noting that it is not only to the uneducated, commonly supposed to be the more superstitious, that the Beckside Boggle has appeared. One of the vicars of the parish used to tell his friends how, walking one night from Sawrey, he was approaching the poorhouse

poorhouse, when he observed an old lady in an old fashioned bonnet walking before him. It was early in spring, and there had been a snow shower so that the road was all white. The vicar trudged along till he was abreast of the figure, and then, thinking she was probably a parishioner, he bade her "good-night" as he passed. As there was no reply he turned to see who this unsociable old body was. To his horror, under the wide brimmed bonnet, he saw a death-like countenance with goggle eyes, which gleamed like coloured glass with a light behind them. The apparition then suddenly disappeared through a gap in the wall. The vicar, astounded, went up to the wall, but no trace of the figure could be seen. He then looked back along the road which he had come. The moon was bright, and he noticed a strange thing. The snow bore only the tracks of one pair of feet, and those were his own.

There is, however, one form in which the "boggle" appears, which is rather significant, and as far as can be made out by enquiry, it is the form in which it has oftenest appeared. Pedestrians, at night, on coming to this part of the road, would see a white calf in the road, and this would suddenly disappear, followed instantly by a sound as if a cartload of stones was being emptied into the lake, or sometimes into the road. Trivial as this may sound, it is interesting. It appears we have here a tradition of the Teutonic "Barguest," or "Barnghaist." A form of this went under the name of "Trash," and consisted of a big dog which walked with an awful splashing sound. Sometimes Trash "sinks at the feet of the persons to whom he appears with a loud splashing noise, as if a heavy stone were thrown into the miry road." *

In making enquiries about this notorious haunt, I was informed that an old woman was still living who had

* Harland and Wilkinson, *Lancashire Folk-lore.*

spoken

spoken with the ghost itself. Of course I interviewed her at once. The old lady is now very advanced in years, and though somewhat of a cripple, owing to an accident in Coniston copper mines, where she worked years ago, yet, intellectually, perfectly vigorous. The story she told me as she sat in her cottage, over the fire, was a strange one.

It appears that some thirty or so years ago, she went to live with her mother at the poorhouse. Her mother being seriously ill and my informant having to nurse her. The first uncanny thing that happened was that the house suddenly appeared to be on fire, and old N. ran out shiftless, in her fright, screaming that the house was burning. She was got into the building, and it was some time before she could be persuaded that what appeared to her as fire, was but fodder for animals.

But I ken aw about it—ower mich. There was a man ca'd Roger D——. as should have gone to foreign parts to join his brother or summat. But ya year i' summer he hed been warking amang t'hay, and to ga yam, he took a boat frae below t'How across t'laake. There was a chap ca'd S——, a wicked chap as hed had a terrble quarrel wi' Roger, and they say he was ligging quiet and set on Roger as he was landing near t'poor'us. There mud hev been terrible wark afore aw was over. S——. was found lying nigh de'ad i't' rooad, and nivver spak again. Jim H——. fund him, and carried him home. As for Roger they fund his body stark and stiff in t'water, and there was nea doubt that S——. had drowned him.

But warst of aw, ya day efter this, Roger came intil t'poor'us, when I was with mother. I hed nivver seen him alive, but mother hed, and knew him well. It was late ya evening. Roger walked straight into the house, dressed in his best Sunday clothes, and held out his hand to me, and said summat I dud'nt ken. I kna'd nowt of who he was, and took his hand. It was ca'd as ice. I kenned somehow as I'd done wrang. He went til t'mantel and struck a light with some matches. But efter we fund as nivver yan hed been touched. As he left t'room mother said " Bairn, whatevver hev ye done, its Roger D——." I was almaist deead wi' terror. But he'll nivver come again willn't Roger sin he's been spokken wi' and touched.

I

I came away from the house fully believing that I had run the Waterside Boggle to earth, but not so. On making enquiries of one or two elderly men, with clear memories, and no particular taste for the uncanny, I found that the death of D——. occurred somewhere between thirty and thirty-seven years ago. That it was absolutely certain that he was not murdered, but accidentally drowned, and that the place in question was badly haunted prior to his death. Indeed there was a suicide here a long while prior to the drowning case, and even before that the place had a bad reputation. The story, however, is useful and instructive, as showing how the people are apt to fix upon a tragedy to account for a superstition which in itself may be of remote antiquity. One of the most practical farmers in the locality, and a man eminently unsuperstitious, informed me that the most remarkable thing about the place was the fact that cattle often became panic-struck with terror near the poorhouse, and could be hardly got to pass it. He himself had experienced this more than once, and in a marked degree. There are also numerous stories about carriage-horses shying badly at the same place.

On the opposite side of the lake, we have another instance of the fixing of an old form of superstition upon the site of a tragedy. An old woman, called Nelly N——, is said to have been murdered at or near the Howe farm, and although suspicion fell on more than one, it would appear that nobody was brought to book. The story goes that the woman owned a bag of spade guineas, which she used to take to market and there count, with the result that somebody's cupidity being aroused, the old lady was murdered for them. Anyhow, it is said that after her death the guineas were never found. The story goes that as carts go along the road at night, Nelly suddenly jumps upon them. This is, apparently, a relic of the Scandinavian Skrat, whose kinsman the German

Schrat

Schrat or Schritel used to jump into carts, which immediately became so heavy that they could not be drawn by the horse.

The only ghost, at the foot of the lake, appears to be a lady without a head.

At the northern end of the lake we find a haunted locality at the residence called Belmount, built about one hundred ago, by the Rev. Reginald Braithwaite, Incumbent of Hawkshead. In this case the "walk" is not only at the house, but upon the avenue leading to the house, along the main road to the end of Scarhouse lane, leading from Colthouse, and even in the lane itself. There appears to be no tradition as to the origin of the ghost, which, like the Beckside Boggle, manifests itself in a variety of ways. Servants living in the house have heard fearful and indescribable sounds at night, and in the morning have found all the doors wide open. Sometimes at night, travellers have seen all the windows brilliantly lit up, when the house was known to be empty. One of my informants has seen the gate securely locked to fly wide open as she passed, without any visible agency, and I have been informed on credible authority, that a highly respected native of the district, now a "boots" in a neighbouring town, was well nigh frightened out of his wits when young, by an appearance here.

The Belmount Dobbie occasionally manifests itself in human form, when it appears as a tall figure, generally described as that of a woman and robed in white. Thus it has been seen by ramblers whose curiosity has prompted them to peer through the windows from outside, and also peramulating the adjacent roads.

The same old resident, in whose youthful days dobbies were "aw up and down," remembered a queer haunt at Smartfield, above Coniston. The place seems to have had a bad reputation, but the queerest things went on at

a

a certain "hogus"* above the farm, which is, I think, close to the British cemetery and settlement on Banishead moor. Here inanimate objects became animate, and one day a workman there, was almost scared to death, and driven back to the farm by the insane antics of a besom, which, leaning against the corner of the building when he arrived, suddenly dashed into the middle of the floor and executed a wild *pas de seul* round the scared rustic.

Some sixty or seventy years ago, a woman drowned herself in Rusland pool, in Colton, and afterwards she appeared often at the farmstead called Eling harth, or on the Kendal and Ulverston road, where she was in the habit of walking for a long while alongside the carrier's cart.

There are one or two haunts in or connected with the parish, which, unlike the above, have already had their chronicler, and therefore do not require telling here. Of these the place of honour must be given to the mysterious "Crier of Claife," mentioned in many guide books, and of which there is a good account in Tweddell's *Furness Past and Present*.† The introduction of steamboats, electric launches, and the building of the excellent Ferry Hotel, have, I think, scared this fleyin off Windermere.

Another is the Oxenfell Dobby, the story of which is cleverly described in dialect, in Mr. Craig-Gibson's *Folk-speech in Cumberland*. The story, as there told, is that a lover murdered a rival who had seen the object of their mutual affection to her home at Tilberthwaite, after a country dance. The scene of the tragedy was supposed to be on the wild lonely road between Hodge Close and Oxenfell Cross, and travellers would at night be startled by the sound of a fearful struggle in the darkness. I

* A hoghouse is a building on the fell for sheep to shelter in.
† Vol. I, p. 95.

find

find that the place still has the reputation among old folks of being haunted, although few people remember a story. The apparition, however, seems, as usual, to take other forms, for I have been told that sometimes a phantom coach-and-four was met on the main road near Oxenfell Cross. This is the more curious since it is but with comparatively recent times that the road has been changed from a rough hill road into a coachable road.

But ghosts are not yet extinct in the parish. There is now on the edge of one of the three lakes which have their shores within our parish, a handsome modern residence where a "lady in white" walks regularly, and is often seen by the inmates. This fair shade (for fair all who have seen her pronounce she is) appears anywhere in the house, and I believe at any hour. She causes no annoyance, is well behaved, and as far as is known, has no history. There is, however, a curious thing connected with a lonely farm on the fell at no great distance, which is worth chronicling, although there is nothing whatever to connect it with the ghost. The farmer was repairing or altering the wall of a small out-building in a ruined farm, which is close to his own. In doing this, a skull and several pieces of bone were found bedded in mortar, in a hole carefully prepared for them within the thickness of the wall. A doctor has seen the skull, and it is believed to be that of a woman. The other pieces of bone which were small, had been sawed in two. What seemed to bring the date of this tragedy down to recent times, was that the building had been re-roofed in modern times, and if the skull was there at the time it must have been found by the workmen. This, however, does not perhaps prove very much as it is quite conceivable that an ignorant workman, on making such a discovery, would pop the skull back into its hiding place, and hastily finish his job, thinking he had better not meddle with such a thing. But none of this part of the building seems very old, and probably

probably the tragedy, though there is no record of it, is of quite modern date. Curiously, the farm has been untenanted for many years, and is now becoming quite ruinous. There is no reason to believe it is more than a coincidence, but it is curious that the "woman in white" is dressed in a costume which accords with the probable date of the tragedy.

ART. XX.—*Notes on the Excavations on the line of the Roman Wall in Cumberland, in* 1894 *and* 1895. By MRS. HODGSON, Newby Grange.

Communicated at Waterhead, Coniston, Sept. 16*th*, 1896.

DURING the excavations carried on in 1894 and 1895 along the Wall and the adjoining earthworks in Cumberland, I accompanied my husband to every trench which he was surveying and measuring, in order that I might myself take notes concerning the colours of and the lines followed by the different earths before making my drawings from his measurements. Very careful observation was necessary, and I have thought it well to put down some notes of what I saw. I have no knowledge, except by mere hearsay, of the historical evidence which has been collected, and only wish to record the facts I have myself observed, and to give expression to the conclusions which I thought might logically be drawn from them. I began with no theory at all, and am not concerned to attack or defend any. I think the notes will be best arranged by dividing the subject into five parts:—1, The Vallum; 2, The Turf Wall; 3, The Stone Wall; 4, The Road; and 5, a *Note* on the Quarry at Bleatarn.

I. THE VALLUM. i. BRUNSTOCK. 1894.

Taking the sections which have been made in Cumberland across this great earthwork in order from west to east, we begin with those cut in July, 1894, in Brunstock Park.* In a long trench cut right across the works from north to south the surface began to rise for north mound of the Vallum 226 feet south of the foundation of the Wall. Here, 2 feet 6 inches below the surface, was the bottom of a small semi-circular ditch, 18 inches wide, lined with blue clays, in a red subsoil. It was thought by some to be the Boundary Ditch

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., Art. xxxix., Plates I and II.

occasionally

occasionally found on the German *Limes*, but this remains uncertain. A few insignificant objects were found in it. It has not been seen elsewhere during the excavations, unless possibly in the White Moss Field (see p. 393.) The soil here was a stiff clay, and perhaps gave in consequence a clearer idea of the method of construction than any other section. At the time we were rather puzzled by the varying colours of this clay—red, reddish yellow, and whitish or bluish grey—but after comparison with the sandy loams, &c., in other sections, and after learning from Professor T. McK. Hughes, F.S.A., that decomposing vegetable matter seems to absorb or destroy the colouring of adjacent earth, I have come to the conclusion that the clay was all the same in itself, and that its discoloration was due to the above cause. The subsoil generally appeared red, but yellower at the south end of the section. On this lay a line of dark bluish grey clay with the whitish grey immediately beneath it. The microscope showed all to be very much the same, but there were tiny fragments of black amongst the clay from the dark line, leaving no doubt in my mind that this was carbonized matter representing the original surface of turf. This line extended for about 30 feet under the north mound of the Vallum, and from 4 feet to 12 feet 6 inches south of the beginning of it the section showed a ridge, 16 inches high at its summit, of the light bluish grey clay lying on the dark line. It had red clay on both sides of it, and a small wedge of this was under its base at the northern edge. Further south the dark line was surmounted by a mass of clay, red, yellow, and bluish grey mixed. From this end of the dark line for about 30 feet there was a break in the red clay subsoil, the lines sloping rapidly as for the sides of a ditch, the hollow being filled by light bluish grey clay, apparently washings of the ditch, covered by about 2 feet of yellow clay, which seemed as if it might have slid from the mounds into the ditch. Measurements indicated a ditch 30 feet wide at the top and 15 feet wide at the bottom, which would be about 5 feet below the original surface line. The axis was 306 feet south of the foundations of the Wall: 22 feet south of the axis the dark line reappeared as before, and extended, with the grey line under it, for 49 feet. This time there were two grey ridges lying on it, the smaller 4 feet 3 inches wide and 12 inches high, the larger, further south, 6 feet 6 inches wide and 17 inches high. Small wedges of red clay showed again under the base of this ridge. The space between the ridges and on both sides of them was filled by red clay, flanked again by mixed red and yellow clays. The surface falls to its natural level a few feet south of where the dark line ends, and here the trench ceased. Several other trenches were cut in the park, for the most part confirming the results of the principal trench.

I. THE

I. The Vallum. ii. White Moss. 1894.

The next cuttings made were on White Moss,* a common near Wall Head in the parish of Crosby-on-Eden. The Wall is under the modern road, and 247 feet south of this the ground begins to rise for the northernmost ridge of the Vallum, which here seems to consist of four mounds. The outer mounds are low and show little distinctive feature, if indeed they belong to the Vallum at all, and are not merely the result of peat digging. The outer northern mound has the black line definite; indeed it is double, with a little white sand between. But in the outer southern mound there is no line at all, and the surface peat lies on the reddish-yellow sandy subsoil. About 3 feet below the surface are the remains of a tree, apparently very ancient, with roots or branches, imbedded in the sand. The depressions between these flanking mounds and the principal mounds are almost exactly on the normal ground level, and have no colour or line between the surface peat and the yellow sand of the subsoil. The middle depression, on the other hand, though filled up on the surface to a much higher level, shows by the sharp fall, on both sides, of the line joining the dark grey and black peat with the yellow subsoil, that a deep ditch has existed here. This ditch, filled as it is with black peat, is now only about five or six feet wide, but the soil is very soft and it may have become compressed. The north side of it has crumbled down a good deal. But it can never have been of anything like the same dimensions as at Brunstock. The two principal mounds show each an underlying ridge as at Brunstock, but here they are of yellow and grey sand, and are covered with a thick layer of dark grey peaty sand, yellow sand, and old black peat, which last forms a wedge under the corners of the ridge-sections as at Brunstock. Over all is a layer of more modern surface peat.

I. The Vallum. iii. White Moss Field. 1894.

A portion of the White Moss east of the main trench has been enclosed, and through it the line of the Vallum runs, but not the Wall or the Road. The western end of the field is mere bog, but at the eastern end the ridges of the Vallum are perceptible, and a trench was cut here. But owing to the confusion between the mounnds and depressions of the Vallum and those of former ploughlands which crossed them at a small angle, very little could be gathered with any certainty. We crossed at least four small ditches

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., Art. 39, Plate III.

filled

filled with black soil, but their shallowness and direction led most of us to think them mere plough-drains. It was, however, a curious coincidence that in the northernmost of these, corresponding in position to the possible frontier-ditch at Brunstock, a piece of agate was found by Mr. Calverley. The Vallum trends a little away from the Wall as it goes eastward.

I. The Vallum. iv. Bleatarn. 1894 and 1895.

About a quarter of a mile east of the main trench (ii.) on the White Moss a gate leads across the Bishop's or Baron's Dyke* into the field known as Bleatarn Park.† At the west end of this the ground is low and marshy, with the modern road on a ridge which formed the foundation of the Roman Wall, whose site the road still occupies. The rise in the surface for the Vallum ridges begins nearly 300 feet south of this.‡ The ridges were again four in number, and this time, in Trench A on the map, it was certain that all of them had been deliberately constructed.§ The flanking ridges, which were not cut completely through, were again the smaller and lower. The northernmost showed layers of grey clayey sand and yellowish red gravel, lying on old black peat. The ridge was capped with the gravel, covered by seven or eight inches of modern surface peat. The old black peat rested on a red subsoil, probably the same red and yellow sand which so often forms the subsoil in this district. The ridge was about 14 feet wide. The southernmost ridge was very similar and quite as wide, but the line of old black peat was much thinner and not so far below the surface. It rested on grey sand at the south and on yellow clay at the north side. (This clay is in a similar position, as regards the Vallum ditch, to a wedge of undisturbed red clay seen afterwards in section D on the map, and the gravel on the top of the mounds resembles the upcast there also.) The depression between the two northern mounds appeared, as at White Moss, to be undisturbed natural surface. The depression between the two southern ridges had a line 18 inches thick of grey peaty sand between the surface peat and the yellow clay mentioned above. It left a shade of doubt in our minds whether this depression had been excavated in

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. v.
† *Ibid*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate VI. (Map.)
‡ In these *Transactions*. Vol. xiii., Art. xxxix., p. 463, their distance is given wrongly as 250 feet. The error is mine, from a miscalculation from an unfinished outline by the City Surveyor. The finished outline corresponded with later measurements.
§ These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., Art. xxxix., Plate V.

earlier

earlier times, but it seemed much more likely that the yellow clay was the undisturbed ancient surface, and that the grey peaty sand had slid down on to it from the mounds. The middle ditch of the Vallum was more like that of White Moss, narrow, deep, and filled with black peat as far as we could see: the inrush of water stopped us. The inner and principal northern mound had a black line more than 20 feet in width lying on the reddish yellow subsoil, and covered for some 13 feet by the section of a ridge of reddish yellow and bluish grey sand, 20 inches high at the summit, and 12 inches below the present surface. On its north flank was a streak of yellow clay, and on its south a streak of gravel, both probably upcast which had slid down the sides of the mound. On the other side of the ditch the principal southern mound rested on black peat overlying a flat level surface of red sandstone rock. beginning 7 feet south of the axis of the ditch, and traceable for 16 or 18 feet southwards. At the north side of the mound there was a mixture of grey sand and peat, 14 inches deep, lying on the rock, and over this a strongly-marked but very thin black line, such as generally represents the ancient natural surface. On the southern half of the rock there was black peat only, 8 to 12 inches deep. Mixed light and dark grey sand lay about 27 inches deep over the whole of this black line and peat, but on the southern half the curves strongly suggested a ridge-section of the usual type, while the northern half seemed to have slipped down from above this ridge. This would, perhaps, mean that the thin black line represented the surface of a berm. The works of the Vallum extended over a width of only 104 feet.

East of this trench the natural surface of the ground rises rapidly. The middle depression of the Vallum is strongly marked on the slope, but ceases to be traceable soon after the top is reached, the upper part of the field having been evidently levelled in later times. The side depressions disappear on the way up the slope, the northern one 28 or 29 feet from the western trench, the southern 100 feet or more further on. The two ridges on each side of the main ditch appear in fact to have run into one, if we may judge from the contours of the present surface, but Mr. Haverfield thinks that indications in another section (D on the map) show that the four mounds continued up the slope.* This section was cut in 1895 across the axis of the Vallum ditch and its mounds, 270 feet east of the Baron's Dyke. At the extreme south end of the trench the surface soil, a few inches deep, rested on a layer of dark red-

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate IV.

dish

dish grey sandy loam, looking at first sight like clay. Two feet north of this the layer was at a depth of one foot, the space between and the surface soil being now filled throughout most of the trench by a layer of reddish grey sand, generally containing waterworn stones and gravel. It was the opinion of Mr. Goodchild, F.G.S., that this had been put on the mounds by the hand of man, and had afterwards slid down into the ditch. Between it and the darker sandy loam were slight and fragmentary traces of black matter, some showing fibrous structure when under the microscope, which was taken to indicate the original surface line. The section of the south mound under the dark sandy loam showed a stratum of bright red and yellow sand with a wedge of red clay running into it, the whole lying on some very large blocks of red sandstone, all below the black line being undisturbed. At 12 feet south of the axis the line at the top of the bright red sand curved sharply, falling almost vertically at 4 feet 6 inches south of the axis, and resting on some more sandstone blocks six feet below the surface. The dark grey sandy loam here gave place to white sand and bluish grey sand which, as it fell lower, contained increasing traces of black peaty matter. The peat was very strong five feet below the surface till within two feet south of the axis; after which it was not traceable till two feet north of the axis, the bluish grey sand filling in the ditch. It was doubtful whether we had quite reached the bottom of the ditch, which is here on a large scale, but further excavation became dangerous. Large sandstone blocks lay at the bottom of one cutting, but they might have been thrown up on the sites of the ditch by the original workers, and have slid down when the Vallum was deserted. North of the axis the strata rose as before, but in inverse order. At 10 feet north of the axis an almost vertical face of red sandstone fragments imbedded in sand, all small and flat and of curiously regular size, lying in horizontal layers, rose two or three feet above the sandstone blocks. This layer was capped with yellow sand, and a few sandstone blocks lay on it at the bottom of the sand. They seemed to have lain on a rather narrow berm, in which case the otherwise undisturbed yellow sand must have been squeezed down upon them later. Above this the bluish grey sand which fills the ditch gave place to the dark gray sandy loam, this again being covered by the reddish gravelly sand and surface soil which have continued across the ditch. Here, 15 feet north of the axis, a thin line of black and white sandy matter ran for about four feet north, and was again taken to represent the original surface. About 31 feet north of the axis the waterworn stones in the reddish gravelly sand were very numerous. This seemed

builders of the so-called Vallum cared very much for the construction of the ditch and not much for anything else. The mounds vary in number, position, dimensions, and construction. The land having been ploughed in most places will account for lowering and spreading the mounds and filling the ditch, but it will not account for the existence or absence of space between the mounds and the ditch, for cores or no cores, for two mounds or four mounds, or for a measure of 104 feet over all at one section in Bleatarn Park and 170 feet at Brunstock. The ditch appears to be always the same in design, though not always equally wide, and probably not always equally deep.

I am inclined to think that the builders of the Vallum must have generally begun their work by deciding on the width of the ditch, and, digging up the turf and (discoloured) soil on its surface, have laid it in lines at such a distance from the proposed scarp of the ditch as to prevent the risk of any further upcast rolling back into the hollow. These lines of mixed turf and soil would be likely to form themselves into the light grey ridges with irregular black streaks in them, which we often saw. Over these would be piled the spoil from the ditch as it was excavated, the mounds therefore showing all the various strata in inverse order to that in which they are seen at the sides of the ditch. Water and vegetable matter would accumulate in the ditch, forming the masses of dark and light grey peaty soil found in almost every section. After the desertion of the Vallum large masses of soil from the mounds would slide down and partly fill the ditch, thus accounting for the upcast being often found next below the present surface of the ditch as well as of the mounds.

The shape of the ditch, whenever the excavators could get deep enough to judge, seems to have been flat bottomed with shelving sides, about as wide at the top as the fosse

fosse north of the Stone Wall, much wider at the bottom, and not so deep:

VALLUM.
Fig. 1.

WALL.
Fig. 2

II.—THE TURF WALL.

A road from Lanercost to Gilsland, passing Birdoswald (Amboglanna), ascends a steep hill and crosses the site of the Vallum about a mile from Lanercost, near to Banks. From this point it runs for two-and-a-half miles on the site of the Stone Wall, whose foundations are often visible in the roadway. Near to a farm-house marked as Wall Bowers on the map,* a large and well-defined ridge, with a deep ditch running on its north side, starts on the south side of the road and runs nearly parallel to it, but slightly more southward, for a mile and a half, the ditch at least being easily traceable to within a few hundred yards of Amboglanna. South of this ridge the Vallum is clearly marked all the way, and these two works are almost exactly parallel.

Excavations† in 1895‡ showed that the ridge was the remains of a wall built, like the Antonine Wall, of turves. The principal section cut was at Appletree, where, in the field south of the road, the ground falls rapidly to a small watercourse, and then rises again till a point 315 feet south of the Stone Wall is reached, and here a trench began, and was carried across the whole of the earthworks. A fragmentary black line, with disturbed reddish soil above it, and red and yellow undisturbed subsoil below, showed the extent of a

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art., x., Plate I.

† Excavations in 1896 show that the ditch of the Turf Wall certainly came within 200ft. of the Station, and probably touched it. (See Art. xxii of the present Volume).

‡ These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plates II. and III.

glacis

glacis about 45 feet wide, whose summit was two feet above the natural surface indicated by the black line. The ground then fell towards a fosse, whose axis was 385 feet from the road and Stone Wall. The shape of the ditch had been nearly that of a V, but with a flat bottom, 18 to 24 inches wide, nine feet or more below the ancient surface. Its form exactly resembled that of the fosse north of the Stone Wall (see p. 403). South of this ditch the subsoil of red sandy loam is capped with a black line, sometimes double, and one or two inches thick, extending for nearly 30, and, in some other sections, perhaps 40 feet. From 18 to 23 feet in the middle of this, or rather towards its southern extremity, is again covered with lines of alternate light grey sand and black carbonaceous matter, indicating the remains of a wall built by laying turves one on the top of another. The sods had been cut with feather edges, not angular as we cut them. They had then been laid in a row, green side downwards (fig. 3) and another row above this, in the hollows, so as to "break the joints" as in brick-work, each turf in this row being bent and almost broken by the weight above it (fig. 4).

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

This effect was noticeable in several places, but of course in many parts of the sections the black and white were too much mixed and broken up to trace the sods clearly. In some places seven or eight rows could be counted one above another, but it seemed as if the wall had been partly at least demolished intentionally. The whole is covered by a thick layer of reddish soil.

I was much struck by the total difference in the method of construction of the Turf Wall and the Vallum. Instead of mere upcast from a ditch, the southern ridge is a most carefully-built structure, with a berm, ditch, and glacis exactly

exactly resembling those of the Stone Wall; so exactly indeed, that if the theory finds favour that the Turf Wall once ran from sea to sea, no better reason is needed than the existence of such a ditch and general substructure, for choosing exactly the same line for a later wall of stone. The reason for divergence here might possibly be found in the landslips which have carried away part of the Vallum, though when these occurred we do not know. They still continue, but some must have occurred at a very early period. If the builders of the Stone Wall diverged at all from the Turf Wall at Birdoswald, they could not possibly, owing to the nature of the ground, rejoin it before reaching Wall Bowers.

III.—The Stone Wall.

There is now but little left in Cumberland of the Wall and its Mile Castles, which once began as far west as Bowness-on-Solway and extended to the Poltross Burn, and so across Northumberland.

A fine piece has been carefully cleared in the grounds belonging to the Vicarage near Gilsland railway station. On its south side four or five courses of stones are clearly marked,* the lowest projecting slightly in places and leaving it uncertain whether it were an ordinary course or a footing. Then comes a footing 5in. wide and 8in. high. Below this is a projecting surface 23in. wide, which a trench showed to be 9½in. high, and below it again was a layer of stone 10in. wide and 6½in. high. The Wall itself is about 7ft. thick, but as its northern base is covered with earth, the width of the northern footing could not be here ascertained. The layer 23in. wide gave rise to some discussion as to whether it was a foundation course or a footpath along the Wall. At Brunstock a similar pavement was found, about 20in. wide, but it was at least 5ft. south of the mass of concrete which was all that was left of the Wall itself. Indeed the Wall has so completely disappeared that it is impossible to say exactly where the south face was. In a trench at Bleatarn,†

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., Art. xxxix., Plate VII. and Fig. 3.
† These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x, Plate VI.

(H on the map) a wide stone touched the remains of the Wall,* but these were so dismantled that we could not feel certain that any of the facing-stones were *in situ*, and indeed the stones were so rough and rounded that it seemed likely that we had only touched the core of the Wall, and that the facing-stones had rested on the wide stone which so closely resembled the pavement. There was something like it at Chapelfield, but I did not see the traces of the Wall itself, and do not know how far it was from the pavement. I heard that the pavement was seen at Hare Hill.†

The facing-stones of the Wall, wherever visible, are well-dressed stones, not perfectly regular in size, but laid in well-defined courses, which follow the slope of the ground unless it is too steep for them to retain their position, instead of being laid horizontally as in modern work. The middle of the Wall at Gilsland was filled with irregular stones imbedded in mortar, much like the remains exposed at Bleatarn and elsewhere. We were shown one or two coping-stones at Gilsland, but not *in situ*.

We noticed that there is generally a fairly level surface of apparently undisturbed soil some feet in width, a little below the modern surface, both north and south of the site of the Wall. Both were seen at Brunstock, the north one in a trench ‡ (G on the map) cut from the Wall across the north fosse, and both north and south in another trench, (H) § cut across the site of Wall; and its existence is evident whenever measurements are taken of the modern surface where the traces of the Wall and fosse are distinct. In the sections it was generally indicated by a line of black or very dark matter overlying another line almost colourless, but otherwise of the same nature as the subsoil next under it. This, no doubt, represented the ancient surface of turf, or sometimes a marshy pool that had lain near the Wall. The width of this level surface *north* of the Wall seems to have varied somewhat. At Brunstock and Bleatarn it seemed to have been about 23ft. from the Wall to the top of the scarp of the ditch. In all three of the sections named above which were cut across this level surface, we found a heap of red sandstone debris lying some feet from the Wall. There were large and small stones, mostly rough and broken, as though those who had despoiled the Wall of its well-dressed facing-stones to build with elsewhere, had thrown out the stones for which they had no use towards the ditch. I saw one

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate VII.
† We thought we saw it again at Birdoswald in 1896.
‡ These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate VI.
§ These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate VII.

dressed

dressed stone 16in. in length, one end 8½in. by 13½in., the other 5in. by 5in.

The fosse itself is generally of considerable width at the present surface, varying from 35 to 70 feet. Where it is fairly well marked, (which is throughout a great part of its course) the bottom of the ditch is now from 4ft. 6in. to 7ft. or even more below the ordinary surface. I think the sections at Brunstock and Bleatarn (G) were the only cuttings made across it, and the one at Bleatarn was not surveyed. The bottom of the original ditch may have been reached here (I find a note in my book, "Red sand at bottom below black peat," which looks as if the subsoil had been touched—but I was told this, the trench having been partly filled up before I got there). It was certainly not reached at Brunstock, water draining in and preventing further excavation. I have no certain measurements, but am left with the impression of a V-shaped ditch, possibly rather flat instead of pointed at the very bottom, exactly like that of the Turf Wall, where it was thoroughly excavated and carefully measured.

Both sections indicate that the earth from the ditch was thrown out to the north, where a mass of disturbed soil, like the subsoil of the ditch, lies on a black line of ancient vegetation. There seems to have been a not very wide flat surface or "covered way" between the *glacis* thus raised and the counterscarp (north) of the ditch. The surface levels everywhere indicate a *glacis* and generally suggest, as did the section at Bleatarn, that the south face of this was decidedly steeper than the north, which sloped away towards the natural surface. The fosse is now filled up with black peaty soil, such as one would expect to find in a deep ditch.

IV.—The Road.

Several of the trenches cut have been carried across the ground between the Wall and the Vallum, in hope of finding the Roman military way which is known to have run south of the Wall but not far from it.

At Brunstock this road was fouud nearly 30ft. from the mass of concrete which represented the foundations of the Wall.* It was 21ft. wide, composed of loose sandstone fragments with large stones at its axis and edges. To the north of it was a very shallow ditch with black mud at the bottom, 10ft. wide, and south of the road were

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., Art. xxxix., Plate I. (Map).

traces

traces of a similar, but probably narrower ditch, broken into, at the point trenched, by a modern drain. The large stones in the middle were on a decidedly higher level than those at the sides, and would maintain the curved surface of the road. A trench at the west side of the park showed the road again. At White Moss it was traced in several trenches. In the principal section it was found 111ft. from the edge of the Wall.* The original surface of the soil was shown by a layer of black peat 4in. thick, lying on the sandy subsoil; on this was a layer of grey sandy clay, 6in. thick and 27ft. 6in. wide. Here a double kerb of large stones in the middle of the road, and a kerb at each side, were even more clearly seen than at Brunstock. The rest of the road was covered with a layer of gravel and stones 10in. thick and 22ft. 10in. wide, the stones near the bottom of the layer being larger than the rest. The whole is covered with modern peat 2in. thick. On each side of this road was a small ditch filled with block matter, the north one 3ft. wide and 2ft. 2in. deep, the south 1ft. 6in. wide and 1ft. 2in. deep. The Vallum lay 107ft. further south.

At Bleatarn the road was sought for in vain. It goes close up to the Baron's Dyke (see p. 393,) but eastward it cannot be found. A carpenter living near says that at one time there were large piles of ancient wood in the tarn between the mound and the Wall, whence the homestead takes its name.† He cannot say if they were set in any particular order, but is it possible that the road was carried on them? Horsley‡ speaks of the Wall as having been carried on piles over the low ground, but the foundations of the Wall can be traced, and no sign of piles has been seen in the trenches, though in the quarry trench close by pieces of black wood have been well preserved. I saw traces of the road and its ditches again at Highfield, near Old Wall. At Appletree there seemed to be no indication of the road, but it was found again near the mile castle between High House and Amboglanna.§

The existence of the road between the Wall and Vallum at Gilsland Vicarage is a matter of uncertainty. Some of us thought we observed it, some did not. Three at least of the trenches showed a loose mass of sandy rubbish, not exactly like the surrounding soil, with fragments of sandstone, which certainly gave the writer very little idea of a road, but when the horizontal measurements of these trenches and the positions of certain large stones in each were afterwards

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., Art. xxxix., Plate IV.
† These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate VI.
‡ *Britannia Romana*, p. 154.
§ These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate I.

compared

compared, they were strangely coincident if accidental. In the uppermost trench* there was a large stone (16 by 15 by 12 ins.) 13ft. from the north edge of the Vallum, two stones (15 by 9 and 8 by 6in.) ten and eleven feet further north, then a quantity of good-sized fragments for about fifteen feet, then two more large stones (9 by 6 and 13 by 10 inches). In the next trench† there was a large stone (12 by 7in.) a little way north of the Vallum, and another (17 by 15in.) 3ft. 6in. north of this. Then the same fragments and sand as in the upper trench, and thirteen feet north of the last-named big stone came another, close to which the sand and fragments ended. In the lowest trench (touching the Wall) the appearance was still less that of a road. But having noted in what part of the trench the ground was full of stones of one sort or another, we found that the width was 15ft. 6in. The north edge of this was only six feet from the lowest layer of the stones of the Wall or footpath.

V.—Note on the Traces of Quarrying at Bleatarn.

Before the excavations of 1894 and 1895 many theories had been started concerning the mounds and hollows in the field at Bleatarn, but no one seems to have suspected their real origin till, in 1894, a trench was cut under Mr. Calverley's superintendence, which showed that the red sandstone rock, which is still worked at Hethersgill to the north, and is visible in the bed of the river at Crosby-on-Eden to the south, here too comes near the surface. Further investigation showed that a large part of the field has at an early time been worked for stone.

The western end of the field, and part of the northern,‡ is low and mossy, but the ground rises sharply at the edge of this moss, and then follows a higher level of great extent. Just north of where the Vallum climbs to this level there is a large hollow with a small oval mound in the middle, and a depression to the north-east through which it is partly drained. A trench (E on the map) was cut across the small oval mound and southwards across the Vallum in 1894, and was re-opened and widened (F on the map) in 1895.§ The small oval

* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., Art. xxxix., Plate VIII.
† *Ibid*, Plate X.
‡ These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plate VI.
§ *Ibid*, Plates IV. and V.

mound

mound consisted of a mass of small sandstone fragments imbedded in sand, lying loosely at all sorts of angles, evidently rubbish thrown up by the hand of man. Between this and the north mound of the Vallum was a hollow filled with a mixture of black peaty sand and dark red sand to within three feet of the surface. Above this is a layer, 18in. thick, of black matter, almost entirely leaf mould, though there is not a tree within 250 feet now, and then only a row of Scotch firs with an occasional oak, while the leaves found are alder. This mould was again covered by reddish gravelly upcast, which seemed to have slid down from the Vallum mound. South of this the western side of the trench showed the upcast resting on dark-grey sandy loam; below this were sandstone fragments in sand, but laid flat and even as in trench D, see p. 395,) and untouched by man, with a few erratic water-worn stones (porphyritic, with no trace of glacial scratchings) and underneath this came red sand, resting on red sandstone blocks. At the south end of the trench it was seen that the bed of sandstone fragments came to an end eastwards, so that the dark gray sandy loam lay on the bright red sand. The blocks below were irregular, but seemed to be fixed and *in situ*, except one on the western side, which a local quarryman said had been detached and then left as being of inferior quality. North of these, and some five to seven feet below the sloping surface of the ground, lay a wide level surface of red sandstone rock, evidently solid, measuring six feet from north to south. A rift in it, filled with red clay, ran nearly north and south, and extended southward between the blocks lying on it. On the flat surface were numerous tool-marks, both in the part disturbed in 1894 and in that opened only in 1895. It was certain that in the latter part at all events the marks were not made by our workmen. The quarryman thought they were made by men throwing their tools down when not required, rather than in getting the stone. The northern rock-face fell vertically, but water prevented our getting much deeper. On the few inches exposed were very distinct marks, where wedges had been used to work the stone. The quarryman pointed them out with great certainty, and remarked that he "would have used one or two more wedges" himself. The face of the rock at the east side of the trench indicated another layer a few inches below, projecting very slightly. The rock-face was 159ft. 6in. from the axis of the Vallum ditch. The quarry must have been covered in very soon after it was first opened, for the soft rock weathers very quickly, and the marks on it were as clear and sharp as those made by our workmen.

The modern road from the west, which has run for two or three miles on the site of the Wall, turns off southward about half-way along

along the field, avoiding the site of a now half-dry tarn which has given its (probably Norse) name to Bleatarn. But the Wall, as a section (H on the map) proved positively, ran straight on just north of the tarn, while on the south rises a high, nearly isolated mound, across which another section (I on the map) was cut.* This mound consisted of quarry rubbish, but whence and why gathered could not be satisfactorily proved. The upper part at least was comparatively modern, for a pipe of the type known locally as "fairy pipes," and some glazed pottery of quite late date were found three feet below the surface, a little below a darkish line which certainly represented an older, but not original, surface. The "tarn," however, must be much older, and is certainly artificial. Some of us considered that it had been quarried, and that part of the mound was its spoil-bank. The trench (H) to the north showed a dark-grey line resting on apparently undisturbed subsoil, which confirmed the impression that the Wall occupied undisturbed ground.

Quarrying has evidently been carried on here extensively, though the date cannot be fixed with any certainty; but some points seem worth notice. The quarry at trench F must have been later than the building of the Vallum, for the workers have encroached slightly on the north mound: this is shown not only by the dimensions of the Vallum, but by the vertically-cut face of the various strata on the north side of the mound. It seems likely that the quarrymen wished to preserve the Vallum to some extent, for they have ceased working where the stone is still very good, but where further work would have imperilled the north mound. This might be due to the difficulty of working where there was so much superincumbent earth, but it hardly accounts for the quarry having been immediately filled in. It is certain that the Romans must have needed stone for their Wall. It is also certain that in later ages it has often been customary to use the remains of the Wall as a quarry, and not as a rule to trouble with further getting of stone. Whenever the quarry was first in use. it has not been touched for many centuries. All trace or tradition of stone in the neighbourhood was gone till Mr. Calverley struck it in 1894. If the tarn were a quarry it must have been disused in the days of the early settlers, who called it Blea (blue) tarn.† If the theory which has lately been revived by Mr. Bates in his History of Northumberland (chap. II.) be correct, and the Stone Wall generally followed the line of an earlier Wall of Turves, it would account for the line of the Wall being intentionally left intact during the quarrying, supposing this to have been Roman work.

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* These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. x., Plates VI. and VII.

† On this name see *ante* pp. 194 and 217.

ART. XXI.—*Comparative View of the Dimensions of the Vallum in Northumberland.* By MRS. HODGSON, Newby Grange.

BETWEEN the Poltross Burn on the borders of Cumberland and Northumberland, and the North Tyne, the Vallum crosses a tract of country little susceptible of cultivation, and the earthwork has been disturbed in very few places by other than natural forces. At Limestone Bank, the most easterly point surveyed by my husband,* even these have had little effect in altering the position of the large blocks that lie on the sides of the ditch, which, being cut through the rock, also retains its form. The sides are vertical, which is unusual, but is accounted for by the cleavage of the rock. The mounds all contain large blocks like those lying on the berms, but they are covered with soil and turf.

West of Carraw the earthwork is on a grand scale for some distance, but the inner mound varies considerably in width within even a few hundred yards; so that both Horsley,† who speaks of the inner mound as generally the larger, and Bruce,‡ who differs from him, may have been correct, only Bruce's drawing is too neat and diagrammatic to express the present state of the work and the consequent uncertainty of measurement.

In the next three sections there was no trace of the inner south mound, and I have included them under type B.§ Near Bradley Hall (on the eastern side of the curve there) we saw some large stones on both berms. One I measured roughly was 5ft. 3in. by 4ft. by 2ft 3in.

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* (See Plate I, opposite.)
† *Britannia Romana*, p. 146 and Plan.
‡ *Roman Wall*, p. 52, orig. ed.
§ These *Transactions*, Vol. xiv., Art. xv, p. 244.

near

Near Melkridge Bog the Vallum is overhung from both north and south. The inner south mound is not easily traced by the eye, but the level shows it well-marked. It has many large stones in it, showing through turf. They are also seen on the north berm and in the principal mounds. At the east end of the field the inner south mound looked the larger of the two, but a bull was master of the situation, and we took no measurements.

The eastern section near Cawfields is on a very large scale, the western is considerably smaller, as the ditch has been partly filled up by natural causes, and the north mound, on very sharply rising ground, has always been much narrower and lower than usual. I have been somewhat doubtful whether to include these under profile A. (with a small inner mound) or to compare them with profile C. of the Cumberland sections at Bleatarn and elsewhere, where there are two principal inner mounds and two subsidiary outer mounds. The various types really graduate into each other, as would be seen if we could take a still larger series of measurements. Sir W. Crossman takes the inner and outer mounds to represent the first and second "throw" of the earth from the ditch, which readily accounts for the differences.

To sum up the results up of the measurements: The ditch of the Vallum varies in width at the present surface from 4ft. or 5ft. at White Moss and Bleatarn to 40ft. and 43ft. near Bradley Hall, at Brunstock, and at Combe Crags. Its depth below the probable natural surface I have not estimated in Cumberland except at Appletree, where it is 9ft. In Northumberland it varies from 3½ft. west of Cawfields to 9ft. at Limestone Bank.

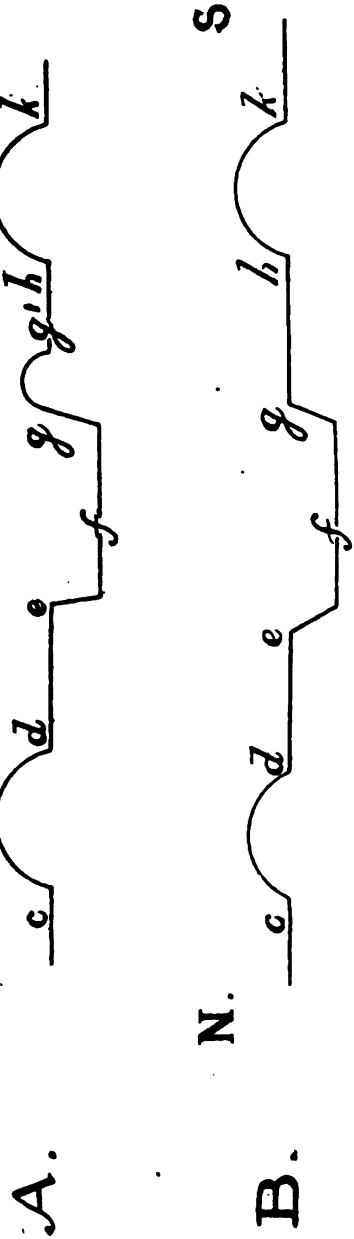
The north mound varies in width from 15ft. at Gilsland and 17ft. at White Moss to 43ft. at Appletree and 50ft. west of Carraw. The inner south mound, where it is smaller than the outer, varies from 8ft. and 9ft. at Appletree and Limestone Bank, to 19ft. and 20ft. west of Carraw

TYPES OF PROFILE OF VALLUM. Diagrammatic only, not to any scale.

A is the profile given by Dr. Bruce (The Roman Wall, original edition, p. 52.)

The present surface is measured in feet, the distances along slopes being reduced to horizontal.

References in column of names are to illustrations by T. H. Hodgson. Plate I.



I.—Horizontal Measurements. (in feet.)

	Type of Profile.	*c* to *d*.	*d* to *e*.	*e* to *f*.	Axis of the Vallum Ditch.	*f* to *g*.	*g* to *g*¹.	*g* or *g*¹ to *h*.	*h* to *k*.	Total North to South
Limestone Bank	A	25	30	7		8	9	25	22	126
West of Carraw	A	50	17	15		17	19	5	32	155
North of Moss Kennel	B	35	20	15		9	.....	25	20	124
North of Bradley Hall	B	35	15	18		22	.....	21	23	134
East of Road to Peel Farm	B	25	23	13		22	.....	20	16	119
North of Melkridge Bog	A	37	17	13		22	12	13	20	134
East of Cawfields Mile Castle	A	36	14	18		15	15	15	30	143
West of Cawfields Mile Castle	A	20	28	15	.....	8	20	10	25	125

II.—Height of Mounds above, and depth of Ditch below, the probable natural surface.

Limestone Bank	.....	3	.....	.....	9	.....	1½	.....	4½	.....
West of Carraw	.....	5	.....	.....	5	.....	3½	.....	5	.....
North of Moss Kennel	.....	5	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	4	.....
North of Bradley Hall	.....	2	.....	.....	4	..	.....	.....	4½	.....
East of Road to Peel Farm	.....	3	.....	.....	5½	.....	.....	.....	5	.....
North of Melkridge Bog	.....	4½	.....	.....	4	.....	1	.....	4	.....
East of Cawfields Mile Castle	.....	5	.....	.....	8	.....	3	.....	5	.....
West of Cawfields Mile Castle	.....	1	.....	.....	3½	.....	2	.....	4	.....

Carraw and west of Cawfields. Where it is the larger of the two, at Whitemoss and Bleatarn, it is 24ft. to 29ft. wide. The outer principal south mound varies from 16ft. near Peel Farm to 70ft. at Combe Crags and Brunstock. I have not calculated the heights of the mounds in Cumberland except at Appletree, but including this with the Northumberland sections, the height of the north mound varies from 1ft. west of Cawfields to 5ft. at Appletree and three other places. The inner south mound varies in height from 1ft. to 3½ft.—this last at Carraw—and the outer south mound from 4ft. to 5ft.

The measures over the whole width of the works vary from 104ft. at Bleatarn to 155ft. at Carraw, 168ft. at Combe Crags, and 170ft. at Brunstock. This last must always have been on a large scale, but has been widened by ploughing.

ART. XXII.—*Report of the Cumberland Excavation Committee*, 1896. By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.*

Communicated at Coniston, Sept. 16th, 1896.

THE excavations which were carried on during last August under the auspices of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society had three objects: To examine the Vallum for evidence of date, to trace some of the Roman roads near the Wall, and to search for any further remains of the Turf Wall found at Appletree in 1895. The work was most seriously hindered by bad weather, and the results obtained are in one or two details incomplete, but they are nevertheless of first-rate importance. Last year we were able to say that the discovery of the Turf Wall was one of the most considerable discoveries made along the wall for some years: this year our discoveries with respect to the Vallum are no less remarkable. The excavations, this year and last, have signally justified themselves. It may be convenient to summarise the results here.

1. An examination of the Vallum on the west and south sides of Birdoswald shewed that those who constructed it deviated from the straight line normally followed, and turned to pass round the south face of the fort. In other words, evidence was obtained that the fort is at least as old as the Vallum. Similar evidence was obtained at Carrawbrough, in Northumberland, and a new fact was thus revealed which had been entirely unsuspected before, and which makes it probable (as is argued below) that the Stone Wall, fort, and Vallum are of the same age. The result is worth emphasising, because it is too often forgotten that

* For the Reports of 1894-95, see these *Transactions*, xiii., 453, xiv., 185.

hitherto

hitherto our explanations of the Vallum have been little more than guesswork, based on observations of the surface to some extent, but almost wholly devoid of definite proof.

2-3. Two roads were examined. The so-called Maiden Way from Birdoswald to Bewcastle was found to be indubitably Roman work, but its alleged continuation into Scotland, as marked on the Ordnance Maps, appeared to be a fiction. Another "Roman" road, supposed to run south of the Vallum in Cumberland mainly through the parishes of Brampton and Irthington, also failed to stand the test of the spade.

4. No trace of the Turf Wall could be detected, except in the neighbourhood of where it was found in 1895, that is, between Appletree and Birdoswald. Appletree remains, therefore, the only place where it is known to exist.

As before, the excavations were greatly aided by the kindness of landowners and farmers, who gave all necessary permissions with readiness. The Society is especially indebted to the Earl of Carlisle for leave to dig at many points on his estates and for a supply of skilled labour, to Mr. Oswald Norman for leave to dig at Birdoswald, and to Sir Richard Graham of Netherby (through his agent, Mr. J. J. Bowman,) for leave to trace the alleged course of the Maiden Way on his estates north of Bewcastle. Lord Carlisle has also given us great help by very kindly allowing the writer to examine and take some notes of his estate-maps preserved at Naworth. These maps are of various dates, from 1603 onwards, and, as the references below will show, are of importance to the student of Roman Cumberland. The Committee which initiated the excavations and conducted the necessary preliminary correspondence consisted, as before, of Chancellor Ferguson and Mr. Hesketh Hodgson. All the work was done under supervision, and the sections were surveyed and drawn by Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson, for whose skilful and unwearied aid the Society is for a third time deeply indebted. A statement

ment of expenditure will be found at the end of the report.

In 1897 it is proposed to examine several points of interest in the neighbourhood of Birdoswald and Gilsland. It may be possible to make some trial of the "camps" at Hawkhirst near Brampton, and Watchclose near Crosby, to which the earlier writers on the Wall attached great importance.

I.—The Vallum at Birdoswald and Carrawbrough.

The idea underlying our examination of the Vallum was as follows:—Two forts on the Wall, Birdoswald, and Carrawbrough,* lie directly and visibly in the path of the Vallum. They do not come into contact with the earthwork because both its mounds and its ditch vanish in their vicinity, but they are so placed that a prolongation of the existing Vallum would cross their ramparts. We proposed to ascertain by excavation whether the Vallum once actually ran across the site of these forts and had been filled in before they were built, or whether it avoided them by stopping or deviating. It was plain that the first alternative would prove the forts to be later than the Vallum, while the second would prove them to be earlier or coeval. The task we set ourselves was difficult: we had to search in the subsoil for disturbed earth and other traces of a ditch of which the surface gave no sign; heavy digging was inevitable and the possibilities of error serious.

(i.) We commenced at Birdoswald (Amboglanna) on the west side of the fort. The line of the Vallum is here quite plain at a little distance, but near the fort it is invisible, and its disappearance has been made more complete by a landslip. We were able, however, to find and follow the buried ditch, which was easily distinguished from the undisturbed subsoil by its filling of disturbed earth, fragments

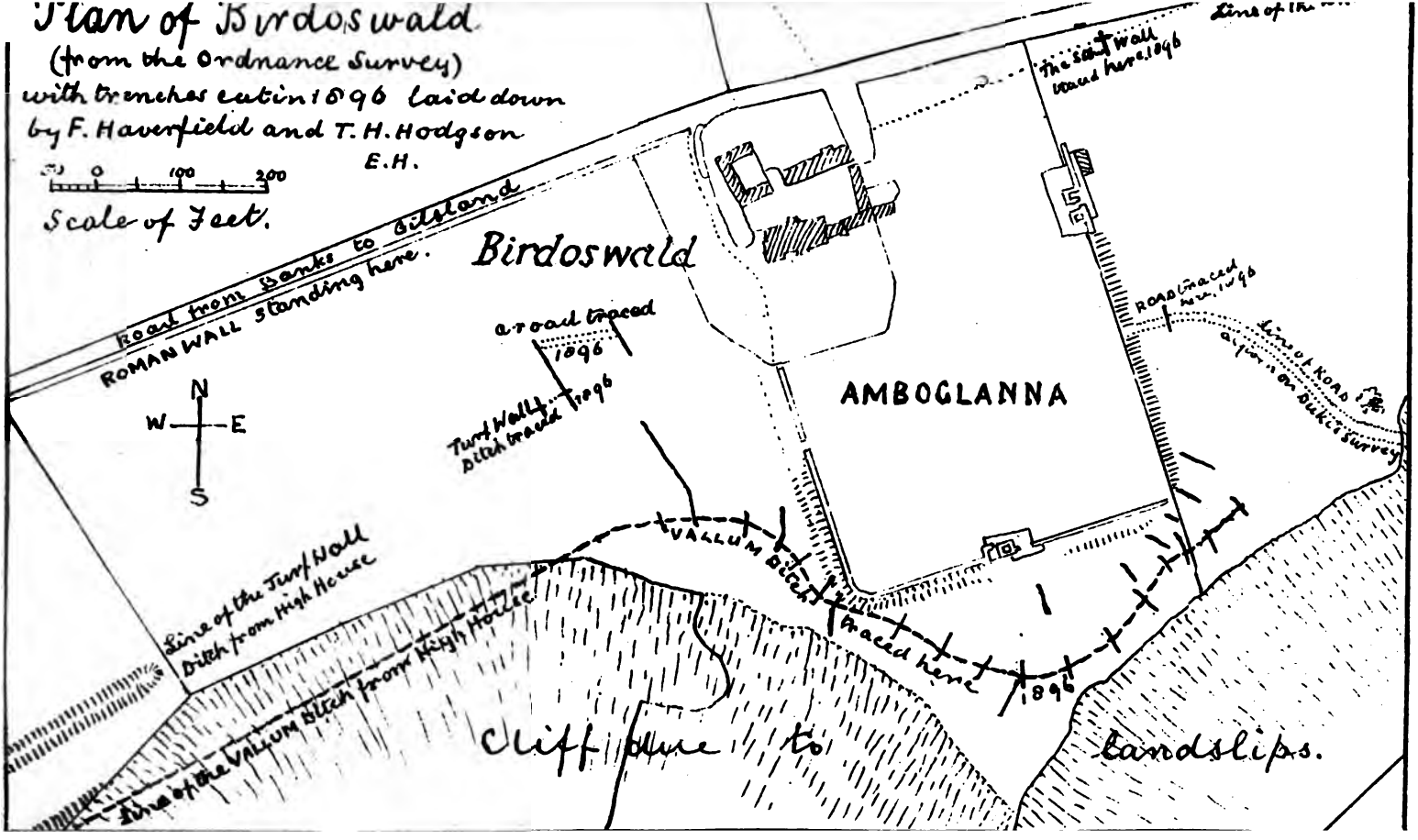
* Some other forts east of Carrawbrough are perhaps similarly situated, but, to judge by the maps, the point is very doubtful. See Appendix I.

of

of pottery, &c., and, in general, a bottom of black peaty matter. This ditch was found to have been constructed in a straight line with the general course of the Vallum until within 250 feet of the west wall of the fort. At this point it swerves suddenly and sharply to the south-east, passes so close to the south-west corner of the fort that it runs into the ditch of the fort and then makes a sweep round the south face of the fort (see the annexed plan). Its farther course may be perhaps examined in 1897. Its width on the south of the fort, so far as we could judge, hardly seemed to exceed 10 feet near the bottom. There were indications that it had been intentionally filled in at some early period, for the black peaty matter at the bottom resembles that found where an open drain has been filled up, and some large stones were found near the surface in most trenches which may have been used to consolidate the filling. The ditch of the fort, as far as examined, contained neither black matter nor stones, and may have silted up gradually. No trace of the Vallum mounds was noted: at some points, indeed, there was not room for them ever to have existed, so that we may suppose them not to have been thrown up near the fort. This absence of the Vallum mounds will be noted again at Carrawbrough, and is an additional argument (*inter alia*) for the non-military character of the work. If the work had a defensive value, the ramparts could hardly be omitted.

These excavations were superintended by Professor Pelham, M.A., F.S.A., Mr. Hodgson, and myself.

(ii.) The deviation of the Vallum at Birdoswald suggested the propriety of excavations at Carrawbrough (Procolitia), which also stands directly in the path of the Vallum. These were made with the permission of Mr. J. B. Clayton, of the Chesters, and of the farmer, Mr. Gibson, by Professor Pelham and myself, and though not part of the Cumberland Excavation Committee's work, may be conveniently described


Plan of Birdoswald
(from the Ordnance Survey)
with trenches cut in 1896 laid down
by F. Haverfield and T. H. Hodgson
E.H.
0 100 200
Scale of Feet.
Road from Banks to Gilsland
ROMAN WALL standing here.
Birdoswald
a road traced 1896
Turf Wall Ditch traced 1896
N
W
E
S
AMBOGLANNA
The Turf Wall traced here 1896
ROAD traced here 1896
line of ROAD as given on Duke's survey
VALLUM DITCH traced here 1896
Line of the Turf Wall Ditch from High House
Line of the VALLUM ditch from High House
Cliff due to landslips.

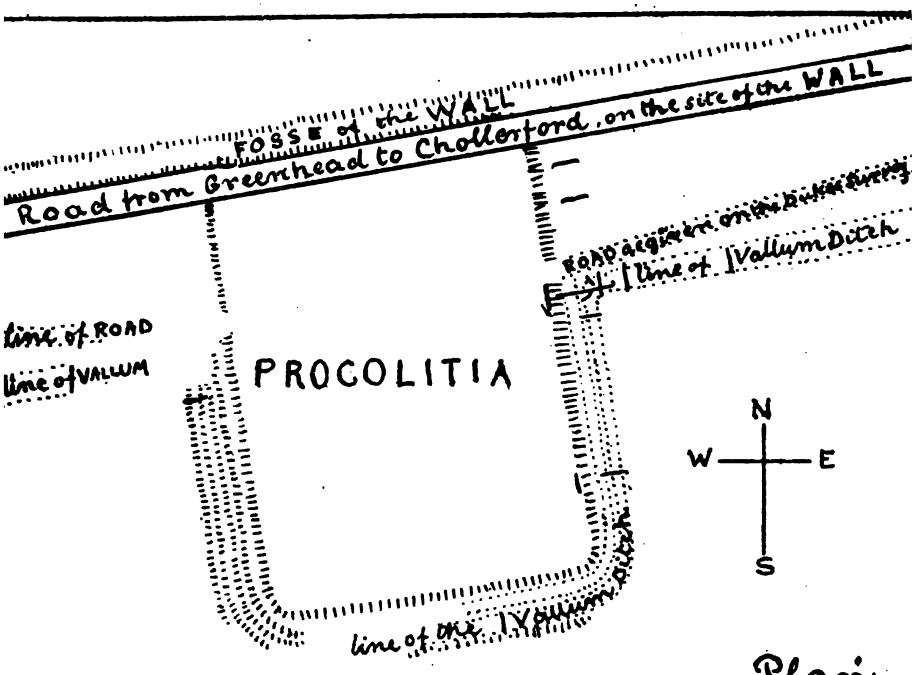
described here.* At Carrawbrough the mounds and ditch of the Vallum are clearly visible on the moor east and west of the fort, and if their course were continued in the natural straight line, they would run through the fort, but no trace is discernible in its near neighbourhood. Our trenches shewed that on the east side the ditch runs on in a straight line towards the fort till within 40 feet from it, as at Birdoswald: it is unaccompanied by the mounds. At 85 feet from the rampart it is a broad ditch, once, perhaps, 28-30 feet across at the top, and therefore of the size of the Vallum ditch: the filling was found to be disturbed earth containing some large stones, with a bottom of black peaty matter in which were bits of pottery, bone, and sewed leather (now in the Chesters museum) to a depth of at least six feet. About 60 feet from the rampart the black matter ceased to be visible: at 54 feet the large stones ceased, at 40 feet the ditch stopped. Instead, a ditch, about 15 feet wide at top, was found to run southward parallel to the rampart and to the ditch of the fort, from which it was separated by a bank of undisturbed soil some five feet wide at the top. This ditch was not discoverable in the space between the Vallum ditch and the Wall, but was traced on the south side of the fort and probably on the west side, where the surface itself suggests double ditches, and a trench shewed four feet of rubbish and made matter in the outer of the two ditches. On the east and south sides this outer ditch was found to be full of grey earth, easily distinguishable from the undisturbed soil around, but free from large stones and black matter: the ditch of the fort was of the same character. It is possible that, as at Birdoswald, the Vallum ditch was intentionally filled up, while the ditches round the fort were only filled up gradually and naturally. It has, however, been

* An account was read to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries at its meeting on September 30th. See its *Proceedings*, Vol. vii., pp. 283-286.

doubted

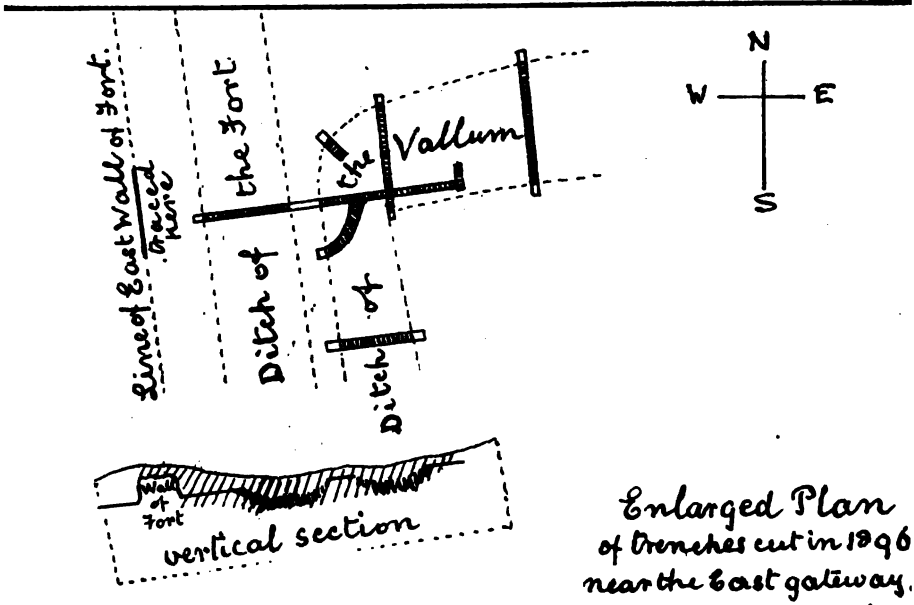
doubted whether the outer ditch is the Vallum ditch turned, for once, to some practical use, or whether the fort had a double ditch round it like many of the forts on the German *Limes*, and in other parts of the Roman Empire. As the outer ditch of Carrawbrough does not run right round the fort, but only begins where the Vallum ceases its westerly direction, it is natural to suppose it a continuation. This supposition best explains the difference in the contents of the two ditches: the one which was found inconvenient was filled in (it may be) by the Romans, the other, which gave strength to the fort, was left open and filled up gradually like the inner ditch round the fort. Before deciding the point, however, it is desirable to ascertain what is as yet unknown—whether the forts on the Wall had usually a single or a double ditch. Maclauchlan thought he detected traces of the latter at Aesica, but excavation alone can settle the question. In any case, it is plain that the Vallum does not pass through the fort. It either deviates to encircle it (as I think), or it stops entirely, and in either supposition it is plain that it cannot be earlier in date than the Fort.

It remains to draw conclusions. First, it seems now to be certain that the Vallum is not earlier in date than the forts at Birdoswald and Carrawbrough, and as no reason exists for considering these forts to be earlier (or, for that matter, later,) than most of the forts on the Wall, we may conclude that the Vallum is not earlier than these forts; it is coeval or later. We may overlook the idea that it is later, for that, in the present state of our knowledge, does not commend itself, and may consider the results deducible from the other alternative, that it is coeval. In this case, two theories and two only are tenable as to its date: either (1) forts and Vallum may be older than the Wall, or (2) forts, Vallum, and Wall may be coeval. There are, I think, two arguments which tell in favour of the latter possibility



30 0 100 200
Scale of Feet.

Plan of Carrawburgh
Drawn by E. Hodgson, 1896
from survey by F. Haverfield.



10 0 10 20 30 40 50
Scale of Feet.

Enlarged Plan of trenches cut in 1896 near the East gateway, with section across the East wall of the Fort and both ditches.

possibility. In the first place, as I have shewn else, where,* the mural inscriptions make it extremely probable that the Wall, its forts, and its milecastles are in the main, if not wholly, the work of Hadrian, that is, that (so far as our present purpose is concerned) the forts and the Wall are coeval. A second argument points the same way. It may be observed that throughout its course the Vallum and forts seem to stand in no definite relation. At Birdoswald the vallum sweeps round the south of the fort, at Carrawbrough it seems to form an outer ditch for it; at Carvoran and Castlesteads it runs north of it; at Housesteads and Great Chesters it is some distance to the south. On the other hand, Wall and Vallum do stand in a certain relation: the Vallum, whatever its vagaries, is at anyrate so built as always to have a space between it and the Wall: it was erected to serve some definite purpose in connection with the Wall, and that gives a presumption that it was erected at the same time as the Wall. It is perhaps useless as yet to enquire why it was erected. Hodgson, and after him Bruce, held that it was a military defence for the rear of the wall. More recently it has been pointed out that it does not resemble a military work, and high military authorities like General von Sarwey and Sir William Crossman agree in denying it a military character. Our excavations suggest the same conclusion, indicating that the important feature is the ditch which is continuous, not the ramparts which are interrupted. We must, then, look on it rather as a "civil" work, perhaps one side of a *Limes* of which the Wall is the other (as Mommsen suggests), perhaps some other form of frontier-mark most probably coeval with—conceivably, later than—the Wall. This result is not, it is true, very definite, but it is much nearer a definite

* *Proceedings of the London Society of Antiquaries*, xiv. (1892) 44-55. The evidence is more conclusive with respect to the milecastles than the forts, but Hadrianic inscriptions occur at Chesterholm and Greatchesters. The coins found in the forts seem to testify generally to an occupation in the time of Hadrian.

conclusion

conclusion than we have before been able to go. Whatever else we have done this summer, we have demolished some, at least, of those theories which flourish so luxuriantly upon the Vallum, and we have limited the area within which such theories may in future expand.

II.—The Maiden Way to Bewcastle and Beyond.

Maiden Way is the name given by archæologists to the Roman road, or rather to the two Roman roads, which run from Kirby Thore past Whitley castle to Carvoran, and from Birdoswald to Bewcastle, and perhaps beyond.* The portion examined this summer was that north of Birdoswald, which was traced in detail by the Rev. John Maughan, vicar of Bewcastle, some forty years ago, and described by him in the eleventh volume of the Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute, and on his authority, as the Director informs me, laid down on the Ordnance Survey. It seemed desirable to test Mr. Maughan's conclusions.

1. Birdoswald to Bewcastle. The course of the road from Birdoswald to Bewcastle is in general unmistakable, and has been correctly laid down by Mr. Maughan and the Ordnance surveyors. Three points are open to doubt. (i.) For the first half-mile north of Birdoswald the road has vanished in soft ground: it was apparently invisible in Mr. Maughan's time, and certainly could not be found by us. (ii.) The exact point where it crosses Kingwater cannot be traced; perhaps it was a few yards higher up than the ford (sometimes called Slittery or Slidry) where the Ordnance Map lays it down, (iii.) The approach to Bewcastle from the top of the fell near High-house, a distance of a mile and a half, cannot be traced: it possibly

* For the proper use and history of the name Maiden Way, see Appendix. By Bewcastle, I mean the castle of that name which stands on the site of the Roman fort: the name has of late years been used also to denote the *parish* of Bewcastle.

coincided

coincided in part with the modern road from Askerton to Bewcastle, but our efforts to trace it by spade or otherwise were in vain. The best preserved pieces of the road are on Waterhead fell, near Highstead Ash, and on the fell east of Gillalees Beacon. Sections made near Highstead Ash and in Spadeadam* plantation shewed that the road was what we found it to be last year (Report 1895, p. 196), about 16½-17 feet wide, edged with large roughly squared kerbstones, and constructed of large and small cobbles and freestones laid on the natural subsoil. Its Roman origin seemed beyond question: for the most part it has probably never been touched since Roman days.

2. North of Bewcastle. The line of the road north of Bewcastle has been laid down by Mr. Maughan in detail, but our enquiries led us to disbelieve totally in this part of his conclusions. We carefully examined the whole ground from High House (see above) to the Cross, near Kettle Hall; trenched at suitable places, and asked for local information. We found no sign of any continuous track, and nothing like a Roman roadway, and we could not discover that any of the natives of the parish had ever seen such a thing, though they were familiar with the road south of Bewcastle. Mr. Maughan himself practically admits that he had found no real trace of the road north of Bewcastle, though this did not hinder him from laying down its precise course. The conclusions which we drew were (1) that the line of road laid down by Mr. Maughan is fictitious, and (2) that there is no reason to believe that any Roman road proceeded north from Bewcastle. The second conclusion may be strengthened by a reference to recent exploration in Scotland. The theory of the road north of Bewcastle formerly was that it joined the Wheel Causeway in Roxburghshire, and thus led to Roman sites

* I am unable to explain this odd name, which appears in the same shape in seventeenth century maps. There are some places in Scotland, *e.g.*, Blairadam in Kinross, which shew the same suffix.

further

further north. Dr. James Macdonald has lately examined the Wheel Causeway and finds that it is not Roman.*

The examination of the Maiden Way was done mainly by Mr. Booker and myself, partly also by Prof. Pelham and Dr. James Macdonald, F.S.A. Scot.

III.—A Supposed Continuation of Stanegate.

Stanegate is a Roman road in Northumberland which runs south of the vallum from Carvoran through Chesterholm to a point near the meeting of the North and the South Tyne, and which probably (though it is no longer traceable) extended as far as the Roman fort at Chesters or that at Corbridge.† It forms a short and easy means of communication between the eastern and western parts of the mural region, and unites the Watling Street at Corbridge with the Maidenway at Carvoran. Since the time of Horsley it has been supposed that this road was continued into Cumberland. Horsley himself thought that it ran more probably from Castlesteads than Carvoran, and formed only a straight cut from Castlesteads by Irthington and the Watchclose "camp" to Stanwix (*Britannia* p. 144). Others have traced it from Carvoran to Gilsland, Denton, Naworth Park, the Roman "camp" at Hawkhirst, Watchclose, and so into Carlisle. Many portions of this supposed road are marked on the Ordnance maps, on what authority I have not been able to ascertain.

The following portions of this road were examined by

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* *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xxix. (189.) 323-328. See further in the Appendix to this Report.

† See Horsley's *Britannia*, p. 144; Hodgson's *Northumberland*, Part 2, iii., p. 288, 411; Maclauchlan's Survey, pp. 30, 47, 50. A milestone found on the Stanegate at Crindledykes, near Chesterholm, contains the mileage MP XIIII (*Ephem. Epigraphica*, vii, No. 1108). The spot where this stone was found is just fourteen Roman miles from the site of the Roman fort at Corbridge, and, as no other Roman site suits the mileage so well, we may perhaps incline to the view that the Stanegate went to Corstopitum. Hodgson thought that from Corbridge it went to Newcastle by the 'Ald-he-way.'

excavation:

excavation: (1) Gilsland.* With the assistance of the Rev. A. Wright, I examined an old road which crosses the Gilsland school playground from north-east to south-west. This playground was once a peat-moss: the road across it consists of a layer of large freestones, cobble and gravel, about 12 feet wide, the larger stones being generally on the outside or in the middle. The whole was quite roughly made, and though possibly, was not at all certainly, Roman work. At the north-west angle of the playground the road seems to turn west and after running parallel to the modern road for a little, to run into it; here it is on firmer ground and its construction is less solid, its stones much smaller, and the whole unlike Roman work. Further excavations are needed at this spot. There are traces of a (presumably) Roman bridge over the Poltross burn not far from the playground, and the roadway which crossed it deserves tracing.

(2) Denton. Trenches were dug by Prof. Pelham across the line of "Roman road," marked on the Ordnance Map, near Denton Mains. No traces of a roadway could be found. The Director of the Ordnance Survey tells me that the evidence on which this road was laid down on the Ordnance Maps, is in reality insufficient. It may, therefore, be dismissed from further consideration. Further down the valley, near the Nook farm, there are traces of the old road towards Lanercost, which was in use in the last century and is marked on Warburton's map, but we could not find a suitable place for digging or any indications of a Roman road. The course of the road, as marked on the Ordnance Map, is extremely sinuous and un-Roman, and we may now take it to be fictitious. The only real reason for thinking that a Roman road ran in this locality is that some interesting Roman

* The Post Office, the Railway, and custom have given the name Gilsland to the village which has grown up on each side of the Poltross, near the hillock once called Rosehill or Rosshill. Gilsland is properly the name of the Barony.

objects,

objects, bronze work, coins, and pottery, now in the Chesters Museum, were found in building the new vicarage of Nether Denton in 1868.* The coins, however, belong mainly to the reign of Trajan, some to the reigns of his immediate predecessors, and their dates shew that the site was occupied for a short time only, either just before or while Hadrian built his Wall. We must not, therefore, argue from the remains to the road.

(3) Naworth Park. Sections were dug by myself in two places in Naworth West Park. (a) At Pavement Head, on the road between the Castle and the Quarrybeck Lodge, a small piece of roadway was found about 80 yards west of the six trees on the hill-top and close to the side of the existing road. It was a mere fragment 2½ feet wide by 20 feet long, consisting of one layer of large cobbles and freestones packed tightly together. It bears a vague resemblance to Roman work, and might possibly be a piece which escaped the plough when the West Park was under cultivation. It stands, however, quite alone, and as the road is an old one, old enough to appear in the Estate maps of 1603, the "paving" which I found may well be old without being Roman.

(b) A roadway from the Lanercost road eastwards to the stone bridge over the Castle beck and through the woods into the East Park has been thought to be Roman. It proved to be a modern road, 12 feet wide, made of small bits of freestone, and solidly constructed in a modern manner.

(4) Buckjumping is a cutting 170 feet long through a ridge of sand in a field called Dyke Nook, west of Irthington. At present it is 13 feet wide at the bottom and 20 feet deep, but Mr. R. G. Graham of Beanlands, the owner of the field, tells me that his father threw in

* See these *Transactions*, i., 88. Compare the Lanercost urn, xiv, 195.

some

some of the earth at the top and reduced its depth. It has obviously been made by a road which has sunk into the soft sand. This roadway was carried over the ridge and not round it, probably, as Mr. Graham suggests, to avoid a small bog which until very recently barred the otherwise easy detour. The name is connected with the ancient deer forest of Brampton, on the edge of which it was, and there is a story that a buck once jumped it, but Chancellor Ferguson suggests that it may be one of the places common on the edge of deer parks, where wild deer may be driven in but cannot get out.* We found, below 4 feet of disturbed soil—obviously that thrown in by the late Mr. Graham—a roadway of small cobbles and river-gravel, at least 12 feet wide, constructed exactly like many local roads and containing a few stones broken by the hammer: beneath were at least 2 feet of apparently undisturbed sand. No trace was found of any Roman road.

(5) In Watchclose plantation the course of the supposed road may be traced easily. We trenched in several places and found everywhere a modern road. The "agger" visible on the surface was about 27 feet wide, and the thicker part of the road (cobble and river-gravel) 24 feet wide, but the stones had spread out to a width of 45 feet. Some of them were hammer-broken, and the whole resembled many local roads: below was undisturbed soil.

The excavations at Watchclose and Buckjumping were superintended by Mr. Booker and myself.

It is plain that both the Watchclose and the Buckjumping road are parts of the old road from Crosby to Irthington and Brampton, which was in use in the time of Horsley (1732) and Warburton (1753). According to

* A *buck stall* or deer trap, which is defined as a toil to take deer, which by the Stat. 19 Hen. c. 11, is not to be kept by any person that hath not a park of his own. *Jacob's Law Dictionary*. See for one, these *Transactions* Vol. x. p. 287, n. *sub voce* Shap Abbey.

local

local memory, that of Mr. J. Lightfoot of Watchclose, this road was closed about 80 or 100 years ago, and this agrees with the fact that it is marked by Warburton in 1753 but is not marked on Lord Carlisle's maps of 1772, nor on Donald's map of 1770-1. Horsley says that the natives in his day thought that a Roman road had once run along the line of this road, and this led him to suggest that a Roman road connected Castlesteads with Stanwix in a straight line. There is nothing impossible in the idea, but there is certainly no known trace of such a road.

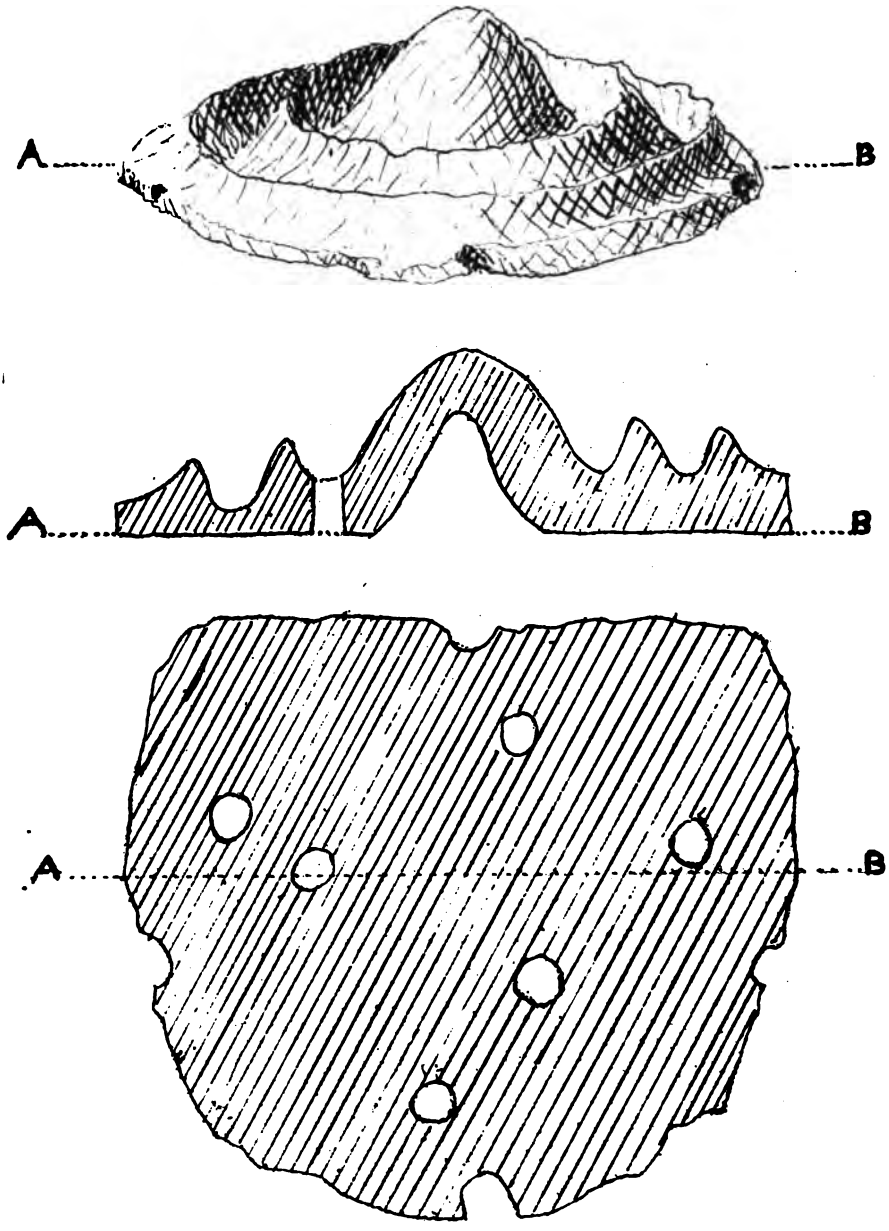
The general conclusion to which we came was that no evidence exists at present to prove that any Roman road ran through Cumberland south of the Vallum. Our search included almost all the places where such a road has been alleged, and no place yielded any definitely Roman paving.

IV.—The Turf Wall.

Search was made for the Turf Wall at Birdoswald (see Plan) by Prof. Pelham and Mr. Hodgson. It was traced by its ditch to within 250 feet of the west wall of the fort, and the point where the mural road crossed it to reach the west gate was probably discovered, though the evidence as to this was not quite conclusive. The ditch was distinguishable by its "disturbed" earth and by Roman pottery, &c., in it. Among the objects found was a so-called "strainer," found on the berm of the ditch (see Illustration). Similar "strainers" have been found elsewhere: there are specimens in the museums at Chesters and Aldborough (Yorkshire),* and one from Northamptonshire was exhibited to the London Society of Antiquaries in 1892 *Proceedings* (xiv., pp. 172-3, with illustration). Mr. C. H. Read tells me that such objects are not common, but that he has seen one or two in the Rhine valley.

* Figured inaccurately in H. Ecroyd Smith's *Reliquiae Isurianae* (plate xxviii, 9), where it is oddly said to be "a lamp of a very unusual form."

various



"Strainer" from the barm of the Turf Wall, Birdoswald.
(sketch, section, and plan)
C. Hodgson, 1896.

Various suggestions have been made as to their purpose: the one which finds most favour with competent judges is that they were cheese presses.

The east side of the fort was also trenched, but the results were inconclusive: possibly we shall be able to work them to a definite issue in 1897.

Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Booker also trenched across some broken ground at Walldub, near Lanercost, which had been thought likely to contain traces of the Turf Wall, if such wall is not confined to Appletree. Very little digging was needed to shew that the excrescences in question concealed no turves.

APPENDIX I. THE VALLUM.

In this Appendix I propose to deal with two points which do not come within the scope of last summer's excavations, but deserve the attention of the readers of this Report. The two points may be indicated by two questions, (i) what is the actual position of the Vallum near the forts which it passes? and (ii) is it known to deviate elsewhere than at the two forts lately excavated? I have the less hesitation in dealing with these two points here, because they both concern matters of fact, and matters of fact are just the things which mural antiquaries are apt to neglect.

(i.) What is the actual position of the Vallum near the forts which it passes? It may be well to take the forts in order, commencing from the east:—

(1) Benwell. (2) Rutchester. (3) Halton. (4) Chesters.	At all these the position of the Vallum is uncertain, and now ascertainable (if at all) only by digging. It is usually said to have run along the S. face of fort
(5) Carrawbrough.	The Vallum forms a S. ditch (see p. 418).
(6) Housesteads.	V. is about 100 yards S: very faint.
(7) Greatchesters.	350 yards S.

(7) Carvoran.

(8) Carvoran.	130-250 yards N. (See below).
(9) Chesterholm.	1000 yards N.
(10) Birdoswald.	Close to S. face.
(11) Castlesteads.	110 yards to N: faint and doubtful.
(12) Stanwix.	Probably S: doubtful.
(13) Burgh-upon-Sands.	Doubtful.

Two inferences may be drawn from this list. In the first place, as I have said (p. 419), the Vallum is in no special relation to the forts: its object, whatever it was, must have had no connection with them. In the second place, it appears true to say that the Vallum vanishes whenever it actually approaches a fort. This is certainly the case at Carrawbrough and Birdoswald, and it may therefore be more than a mere accident that we find it to be faint or doubtful in other cases where its natural line would take it close to a fort. Further excavation would, however, enable us to judge better of this point.

(ii.) Does the Vallum deviate markedly from the straight line elsewhere than at the two points lately excavated?

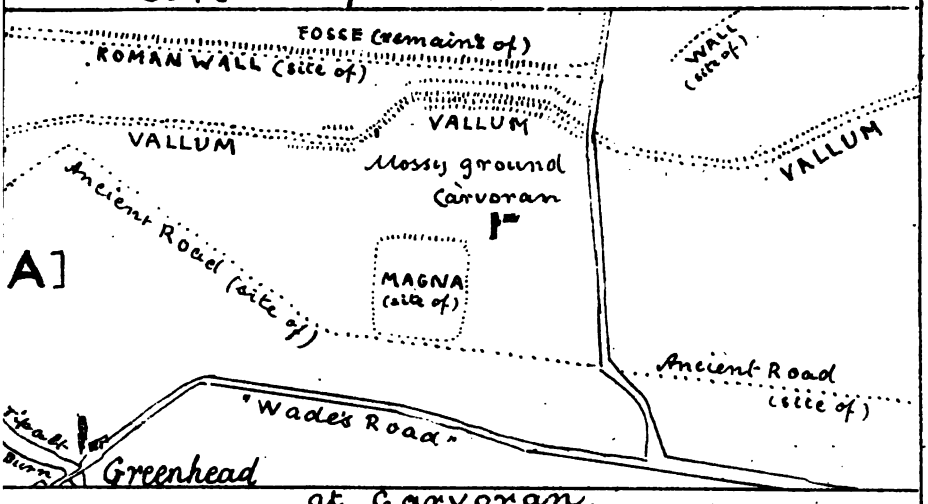
So far as the course of the Vallum is certain, there seem to be only three points where it shews marked and signal deviation from the natural directness of its line. These points (see Plate IV.) are (A) in front of the fort of Carvoran, (B) near Bradley and Highshield, north of Chesterholm, and (C) on Down Hill, east of Halton Chesters. In the first case the bend is apparently due to the presence of soft ground, as Dr. Bruce suggests: it can hardly be due to any attempt to avoid the fort at Carvoran. In the second case the occurrence of soft ground is an obvious and sufficient reason, while at Down Hill the Vallum sweeps round the south side of a small hill which the Wall surmounts. All these cases, therefore, seem to be the result of local peculiarities: they throw no light on the deviations of the Vallum which we discovered this year.

APPENDIX II. THE NAME "MAIDEN WAY."

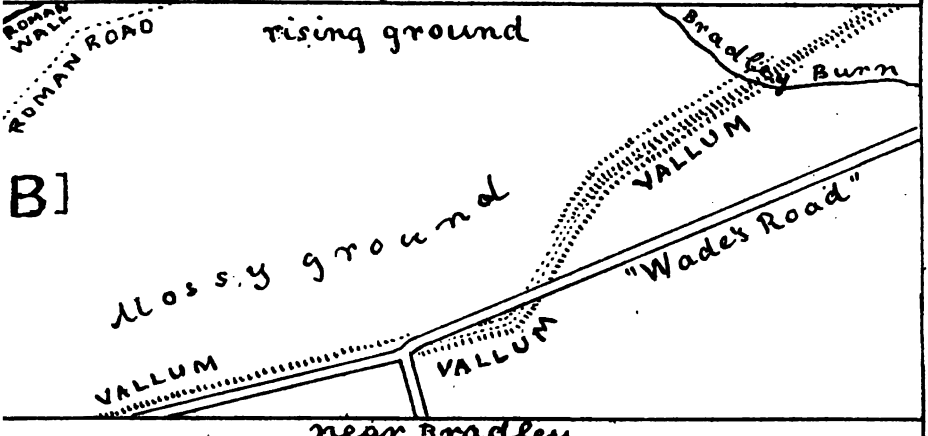
"Maiden way" is the name now given by archæologists to the road, or rather the two roads, running from Kirkby Thore past Whitley Castle to Carvoran on the Wall, and from Birdoswald to Bewcastle, or beyond. In the following paragraphs I wish to consider the antiquity and proper use of this name: the conclusion to which I shall come is that the name is a very ancient appellation of the road from Kirkby Thore to Carvoran, but that its use north of the Wall is less established, and may be a comparatively modern invention of an antiquary.

With

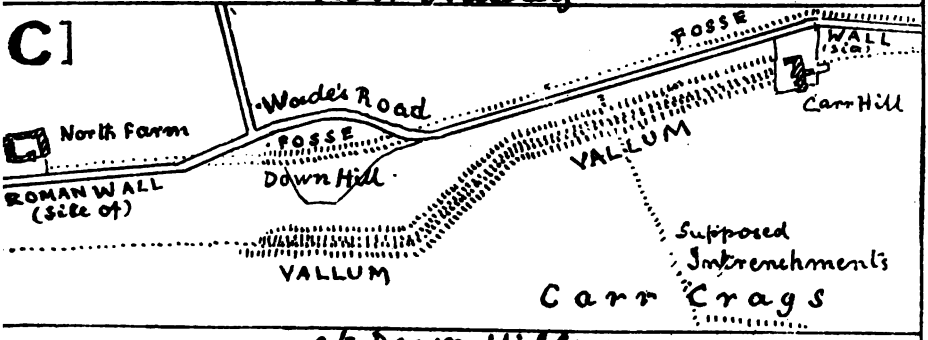
Lines of the Vallum.



at Carvoran.



near Bradley



at Down Hill

From the Ordnance Survey Maps.

Scale 10ch 5 0 10 20 chains
1/8 m. 0 1/8 1/4 mile

N W E S

E.H.

With respect to the derivation of the word, certainty seems unattainable. All the best authorities agree that the current etymology "mai-dun," the high ridge, is absolutely impossible, but they cannot suggest an etymology in its place. The word "Maiden" is no doubt the same as the first half of Maiden Castle (Dorset, &c.), Maiden Bower (Beds.), Maiden Cross, and similar names,* and it is noteworthy that the actual combination Maiden Way is, or was, in use for an old road in Aberdeenshire (Chalmers' *Caledonia*, i., 149). The geographical area over which the prefix "Maiden" occurs, suggests that it is probably Teutonic, not Celtic, and it is possible that it may embody some early English folk-lore about the miraculous works of some maiden. In other words, it may resemble the French "Chaussée de Brunehaut," or the Welsh "Sarn Helen," though it does not specify the particular maiden meant.† This explanation would suit the general sense required by the various uses of the term, which have their common element not so much in the ideas of height and strength as in that of antiquity. Nothing is commoner in early place-names than to find antiquity denoted by reference to some pre-historic or semi-historic agency which is renowned in folk-lore. This explanation of the name cannot, however, be considered as more than a guess, which has, perhaps, the advantage (enjoyed by no previous guess) of not openly violating the laws of philology and the requirements of the problem.‡

I pass on to the use of the name. 1. For the road from Kirkby Thore to Carvoran all is clear. As "Maydengate" the way figures as a boundary in thirteenth century charters quoted by Hodgson, and by Nicolson and Burn, and according to Mr. Bainbridge, who surveyed it about 1846, it is also styled "Maydenway" and "Via puellarum" in similar documents.§ Under the title Maiden way, it is known to Camden (circa 1600), Roger Gale (1709), Horsley (1732),

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* Probably we should compare such places as Maiden Well (Linc.), Maidwell (Northants), Maidenhead (Berks.), Maid's Moreton (Bucks.), Maiden Bradley (Wilts.), Maiden Newton (Dorset.) Maiden Castle recurs near Bowes, in Durham, and near Aberdeen, and is said to have been a name of Edinburgh. Maidenbower recurs in Durham. Maidstone (Kent) has a different derivation, as the oldest forms of the name shew.

† M. Reinach quotes in the *Revue Archéologique*, xxi (1893) 211, some examples of the name Vierge &c., applied to pre-historic stone monuments in France and Spain; thus a Dolmen in Brittany is "table de la vierge."

‡ I have consulted Prof. Rhys, Prof. Napier, and Mr. W. H. Stevenson on this point.

§ Hodgson's *Northumberland*, Part II. iii. 89, 93; Nicolson and Burn's *Cumberland*, i. 377; *Archæologia Aeliana* (old series) iv. 36-50

and

and most competent writers. The evidence both for the road and for the antiquity of its name is entirely adequate.

2. The connection of the road from Carvoran to Birdoswald presents great difficulties. At Carvoran the Maiden way meets the Stanegate coming from the east, and, according to Maclauchlan, the two roads continue together to Birdoswald. The traces of the road are, however, extremely faint, and the name Maiden way seems to be unknown along its supposed line. The only Roman road which we have any present right to assume between Carvoran and Birdoswald is the Mural way which accompanies the Wall, and the exact course even of this has not been examined.

3. North of the Wall the question becomes more intricate. The account now generally received is that the Maiden way, after continuing from Carvoran to Birdoswald, then passed over the fells to Bewcastle, and perhaps beyond it. There can be no question that there is a Roman way from Birdoswald to Bewcastle (see above pp. 421), but it does not follow that this way has real claim to the title Maiden way. Many good writers and maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries give tacit evidence against it. Camden, Gale, two Cumberland correspondents of the "Gentleman's Magazine" in 1755, Nicolson and Burn in their "History of Cumberland" (1777), and Hutchinson in his "View of Northumberland" (1778), write as if they supposed the Maiden way to end at Carvoran. The Naworth estate maps of 1603, 1756, and 1772, Warburton's map of 1753, Donald and Hodskinson's maps of 1770-1, mark no Roman road or Maiden way north of the Wall, and their testimony is significant, as they are independent and first hand surveys. It seems as if the very existence of a Roman way from Birdoswald to Bewcastle was unknown till this century. It first appears on a Naworth estate map made in 1828-30 by a Mr. Bowman: there it is indicated for a length of about 10 chains on the fell north of Spadeadam, at a point where it is still visible, close to a ruined tower which Mr. Bowman calls Robin Hood's Butt. It is indicated by dotted lines, to distinguish it from ordinary roads, and is called Maiden way. The next references to the road are contained in Hodgson's "Northumberland" (II, iii, 296, 1840), and in Maughan's description of it in the Archæological Journal (xi., 1854), which latter is the first complete account of it.* I have argued above that Maughan's theory of a road north of Bewcastle is wrong: it is fair to add here that our accurate knowledge of a road from Birdoswald to Bewcastle began with him. Whence Bow-

* Hodgson visited Bewcastle about 1839: Maughan was then Vicar of the parish, and it is not surprising that their views of the Maidenway agree.

man,

man, Hodgson, and Maughan got the name Maidenway will be considered below (p. 432): one point is clear, that it did not exist, so far as we know, before 1830.

So far our evidence is clear and consistent. There is, unfortunately, another body of evidence which is in conflict with it. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century a theory has been current among antiquaries that the Maiden way ran due north by Haltwhistle or by Carvoran, across the Wall and along the eastern portion of Cumberland into Scotland. The precise course assigned to this "Maiden Way" varies in various writers. The earlier ones lay down a line considerably east of Bewcastle, which indeed was not recognised as a Roman site till Horsley. Thus Stukeley, in the first edition of his "Itinerarium" (1724) assumes that a road ran from Carvoran to join the Scots Dike (now called the Black Dyke) which he and others of his time took to be a Roman road. A little later Alexander Gordon in his "Itinerarium Septentrionale" (1727) published a map on which the Maiden way is traced through Haltwhistle and along the east edge of Cumberland to join the Wheel Causeway in Roxburghshire, and the same scheme of roads appears on a map of Northumberland, Speed's, re-edited by Henry Overton, which might be earlier in date than 1727.* Shortly afterwards, Horsley in his *Britannia* (1732), seems to modify this view. He knew Gordon's work, but he had also discovered the Roman fort at Bewcastle, and observes (pp. 114, 151,) that the Maiden way, "as is said," went to Bewcastle from Carvoran: he does not, however, profess to have seen it, though he visited Bewcastle, Carvoran, and Birdoswald. Stukeley in his second edition (1776) talks of the road as crossing the Wall at Thirlwall, which name, he says (by a perversion of the ordinary legend) "retains a memory of the gate here." Hutchinson, in his "History of Cumberland" (I. 63, 95,) and William Bennet, Bishop of Cloyne, writing in Lyson's "Cumberland (1816, pp. cxxx, cxxxv,) agree roughly with Horsley or Gordon, but are both clearly writing at second-hand. Maps of Kitchin (1750), Cay (1753), Warburton (Northumberland, 1762), and Knox (1784), shew that these ideas of the Maiden way had

* Henry Overton's chronology seems imperfectly known, but he belongs certainly to the period 1660-1740. His maps of Derbyshire and Lincolnshire are dated 1712: the map of Northumberland referred to above contains the coat of arms of "George Fitzroy E. third son of the Duchess of Sutherland," and, if this be taken strictly, the map must belong to the years 1674-1683, as Fitzroy became Earl of N. in 1674 and Duke in 1683. Unfortunately such coats of arms cannot be implicitly relied upon in dating maps. It is curious that Speed's and Overton's *Cumberland* (n. d.) has no Maiden way on it. From internal evidence I should date the map of Northumberland after 1727.

got into common circulation, though they cannot count as independent authorities.

The question remains how we should interpret this evidence. It is not good evidence, being mostly if not entirely second-hand, and probably derived from one source. Two alternatives present themselves. Either (1) our evidence represents some very inaccurate rumour of the Bewcastle road current in the early seventeenth century. Or else (2) antiquaries prolonged the Maiden way from Carvoran into Scotland merely in order to provide a Roman road through Cumberland to Roxburghshire and the Wheel Causeway.* The second alternative is quite in keeping with that general readiness to invent which characterised many of our seventeenth and eighteenth century antiquaries, and it appears to me to be the more probable. In any case this view, that the Maiden way ran along the east edge of Cumberland, may be held responsible for a curious, and, at first sight, puzzling detail in Mr. Maughan's theory of the road. Mr. Maughan takes his road not to the fort at Bewcastle but a mile or so to the east of it: it is probable that this was suggested to him by the accounts of the Maidenway which were alone accessible to him, most of which laid down the road some distance east of Bewcastle.

It remains to notice the reference to the Maiden way in Sir Walter Scott's novel, "Guy Mannering," (chapter xiii.), which is often taken as evidence for the existence of the road at the beginning of this century. A careful reading of the passage will, I am sure, convince any reader that Scott is, on the contrary, writing without personal knowledge. He takes his hero from Gilsland past Birdoswald apparently, and yet does not allow him and Dandie Dinmont to get on to the Maiden way till close to Liddesdale. Scott is known to have been well acquainted with Gordon's "Itinerarium," and I think that his reference to the Maiden way has every appearance of being borrowed from that writer's map.

In conclusion, it may be worth while to enquire how Bowman, Hodgson, and Maughan came to call the road between Bewcastle and Birdoswald, so far as they knew it, the Maiden Way (p. 430.) No earlier writer does so, and the name cannot therefore be taken as a piece of local tradition. It is more likely that the name was

* The Wheel Causeway itself is no less puzzling than the Maiden Way. Dr. Macdonald, who has investigated the matter, tells me that the name Wheel Causeway appears first in Gordon's "Itinerarium," that the name is now locally unknown (though there is a Wheel Kirk near), and that the printed references to the name seem based on Gordon. In other words, it is possible that Gordon invented the name to describe the old track-way which undoubtedly exists near the Wheel Kirk.

derived

derived from some of the sources noted above, either from Scott's novel or from Hutchinson and Bennet (p. 431). The notion that the road ran to the east of Bewcastle, which appears in Hodgson and Maughan, suggests that they, at any rate, were influenced by their antiquarian predecessors.

EXPENDITURE, 1896.

	£	s.	d.
Labour at Birdoswald ...	7	16	0
Compensation at Birdoswald ...	1	10	0
Labour on the Roman Roads...	2	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	5	0
	£11	11	0

This expenditure was defrayed partly out of the £50 voted by this Society, partly by Oxford subscriptions, from which latter the expenses at Carrawbrough (not here included) were defrayed. The total expended in Cumberland during the three years, 1894-6, has been £112 0s. 8d. of which the Oxford subscriptions have furnished £55 4s. 5d., and also £10 10s. 0d. towards the cost of illustrations for these Reports.

EXCURSIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

The first meeting of the Society for 1896, extending from Monday, June 22nd, to Saturday, June 27th, and consisted of

A PILGRIMAGE ALONG THE ROMAN WALL

*In conjunction with the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.**

CONDUCTORS { in Cumberland, Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A.
in Northumberland, R. Blair, F.S.A.

THE pilgrims began to assemble in Carlisle early on Monday. The weather in the morning of that day did not look altogether promising; and when those who had joined in the pilgrimage of 1886 recollected that it took place in uninterrupted sunshine, they began to fear that they were going to have no such good fortune on the present occasion. Fortunately, however, the weather, on the first day at least, proved propitious, and the afternoon was one of brilliant sunshine.

Amongst those who took part in the pilgrimage were Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., and Miss Ferguson, Carlisle; Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Hodgson, Newby Grange; Mr. and Mrs. MacInnes, and the Misses MacInnes, Rickerby; Mr. T. Hodgkin, F.S.A., Bamborough Keep; Miss Johnston, the Beeches; Colonel Sewell, Brandling Ghyll; Professor Ad. de Ceuleneer, Ghent, Belgium; Mr. and Mrs. Welby, Sheffield; Mr. Bros, Mr. Norris, and Mr. Abell, London; Mr. W. Heward Bell, Seend, Wilts; Mr. T. V. Holmes, F.G.S.; Sir W. Crossman, K.C.M.G., Berwick; Mr. R. Blair (secretary Newcastle Society of Antiquaries); Rev. G. W. and Miss Reynolds, Elwick Hall, county Durham; Mrs. and Mrs. Macarthy, Mr. Ingledew, and Mr. S. S. Carr, Tynemouth; Mr. M. Phillips, Whitney; Dr. Baumgartner, Mr. Irving, Mr. W. H. Knowles, Mr. and Mrs. W. Tomlinson, Mr. M. Mackay, Newcastle; Mr. R. C. Clapham,

* For an account of the Pilgrimage of 1886 see these *Transactions*, Vol. ix., pp. 124-151. For that of 1849 see "A History of the Picts or Romano-British Wall." London: George Bell; Newcastle: Richardson; Carlisle: Thurnam, 1849, from the pen of Richard Abbatt, F.R.A.S.

Southdene Tower, Gateshead; Mr. J. P. Gibson, Hexham; Mr. R. O. and Miss Heslop, Corbridge; Mr. W. L. Fletcher, Stoneleigh; Mr. W. G. Collingwood, Coniston; Mr. M. Hair, Carlisle; Miss M. Gibson, Whelprigg; Mr. Robert Bateman, Carlisle; Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Simpson, Romanway; Mr. John E. Sealby, Thornthwaite; Mr. W. M. Townley, Grange; Mr. Ecroyd, Marton House; Mr. H. B. Lonsdale, Carlisle; Mr. Robert Wrigley, Brampton; Mrs. Jackson, Miss Beevor, Mr. Robert Crowder, and Mr. T. Wilson, Kendal, (secretary of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society). The local committee were Chancellor Ferguson, Mr. T. H. Hodgson, the Rev. A. Wright, and Mr. R. G. Graham (Beanlands Park).

The party spent Monday forenoon at Carlisle in visiting the Cathedral, the Castle, and the Museum at Tullie House, under the guidance of Chancellor Ferguson. At two o'clock they proceeded by the North British Railway to Kirkbride, where vehicles were in waiting to convey the party to Bowness. That place was reached shortly after three, and the pilgrims, having left the carriages, proceeded to the west end of the village, where, in the neighbourhood of the school-house, the Chancellor pointed out where the Roman Wall commenced. He gave a brief account of the main features of the Great Barrier, which, he said, consisted of (1) a stone Wall, with a ditch on its northern side; (2) a so called Vallum, south of the stone wall, but which has now been proved to be a great ditch, with the earth thrown out of it: and (3) Stations and Watch Towers. At the meeting of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society last year it was suggested that there was a fourth feature—namely a Turf Wall—but that, he thought, was not yet proved.* It must not, however, be supposed that the Wall was the only fortification which the Romans erected; for there were fortifications all along the coast, of which remains had been found at many places, such as Ellenborough, Moresby, and Ravenglass. There were, in fact, fortifications covering wherever a ship could ride at anchor. After inspecting the camp and church, and one or two other points of interest, the party re-entered the carriages and drove by Port Carlisle to Drumburgh, where the Roman camp was visited under the guidance of the Chancellor, who explained the point here in dispute, namely, whether the Wall went across or round Burgh Marsh. He suggested that, possibly, in some modified condition, it went across the Marsh, where a harbour may probably have existed in Roman times. Sir W. Crossman pointed

* *Ante*, pp. 185-191.

out

out that a camp probably existed at Bowstead Hill, which would guard the east end of the Burgh Marsh, just as Drumburgh did the west end.

The church of Burgh-by-Sands was the first stopping-place after crossing the Marsh: it stands within the area of one of the camps on the Wall.* The pilgrims next saw what was to be seen of the Roman remains at Beaumont and Kirkandrews-on-Eden. At Kirkandrews Rectory a much welcomed tea was supplied by the Rev. T. O. Sturkey and Mrs. Sturkey. Carlisle was reached about eight o'clock.

Tuesday morning proved very wet and stormy, and a start was not made by the pilgrims from the Great Central Hotel till about 10 o'clock. After crossing Eden Bridge the line of the Wall at Devonshire Banks, Stanwix, near Hyssop Holme Well, was pointed out, and the site of the station at Stanwix was also indicated, but the weather compelled the Chancellor to curtail his remarks, and to shorten the programme. The drive was then continued to Bleatarn, attention being drawn on the way to Drawdykes Castle and other features of interest. At Bleatarn most of the party got out of the conveyances and walked into the fields, the weather having by now taken up. In 1894 and 1895 some excavations were made at Bleatarn with a view to determining the relative age of the Wall and Vallum, but they were not productive of any definite results.† Reaching Irthington the party saw the Saxon mound at that place, and visited the church. At Castlesteads they were shown the "finds" which had been made in the station there, and while some of the party drove on to Walton a number walked through the fields and followed the line of the Wall and Vallum to Walton village. On the way to Lanercost about a dozen of the pilgrims got as far as Hare Hill and afterwards joined their companions at the Priory. Having examined this interesting Augustinian ruin, the party visited Naworth Castle, and then proceeded by train to Gilsland and thence in conveyances to the Shaws Hotel. Mr. Hodgson and others rendered good service during the day by assisting Chancellor Ferguson in explaining and describing features of interest.

On Wednesday morning the weather was fine, and the pilgrims having travelled by train to Naworth, drove to Hare Hill and then followed the line of the road to Birdoswald. At Hare Hill there is,

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* At the church Chancellor Ferguson pointed out the entrance of the bone-hole—a stone with a round hole in it, about which several absurd conjectures have been made.

† These *Transactions*, Vol. xiii., pp. 453, 462; and *Ante*, pp. 185, 186, 191.

as

as readers of Dr. Bruce's book are aware, "a fragment of the Wall which stands nine feet ten inches high. It is, however, divested of its facing-stones. Hutton, speaking of the Wall here, says: 'I viewed this relic with admiration. I saw no part higher.'" The pilgrims found that the facing-stones of the relic had been "restored," and the story was told that some years ago one of Lord Carlisle's officials took them away, thinking that they might be useful for building purposes, but put them back again in obedience to orders from his employer, who was not at all pleased with the interference which had been made with this precious bit of the remains of the Wall. Leaving Hare Hill the party drove to Coombe Crag, and examined with much interest the inscriptions which the Roman quarrymen had made upon the rocks. At Appletree, the next stopping place, the party stood upon the Turf Wall and discussed the question whether it was anterior or subsequent to the building of the Wall. This turf or sod Wall is an exceptional feature of the Roman remains, and was only discovered last year. Mr. Bates, the historian of Northumberland, had curiously enough, a short time before the discovery was made, expressed the opinion that such a Wall existed. Sections were cut through the ground to a point south of the Vallum in 1895, and Mr. Haverfield, who conducted the operations, has made a report giving the results.* Briefly,—it was found that at Appletree between the Wall and the Vallum a Turf Wall had been built. The suggestion is that the Turf Wall ran from sea to sea, but was destroyed to make way for the Stone Wall. Sir William Crossman was asked by a number of his fellow pilgrims to state his opinion upon the question of date, and he said that he thought the sod Wall must have been a second or reinforcing line of defence. It was clear to him, looking to the fact that the Stone Wall was overlooked by a hill close to the north of it, that here was the very weakest point of the Great Barrier, and it was natural that the Romans should have strengthened the position by the erection of a second line of defence such as this Turf Wall seemed to be. There was a trace of a double ditch to the Stone Wall, and if they went into the other field they would notice it. His opinion was, subject to further discoveries, that this Turf Wall was an exceptional means of defence, nothing like it occurring elsewhere. The next stage of the journey was the well-known camp at Birdoswald, which was examined under the guidance of the Rev. A. Wright. It was now getting towards one o'clock, the hour fixed for luncheon at the Shaws Hotel, but the fine air of the district had

* *Ante*, pp. 185-191.

whetted

whetted the appetite, and many were glad to avail themselves of the opportunity which was afforded them of temporarily satisfying the cravings of hunger with a glass of milk from the clean, cool, dairy.

After luncheon at the Shaws Hotel, the conveyances were re-entered and the party drove to Gilsland Vicarage where they were received by the Rev. A. Wright, who had been of useful service to the pilgrims during the journey from Hare Hill. On reaching the Vicarage, however, a heavy rain set in, which had the effect of making the pilgrims cry "halt" for a time. In the Vicarage garden an interesting bit of the Wall exists, and Mr. Wright has some relics of the Roman time which people visiting the Wall are always welcome to see. A good programme had been arranged for the afternoon, but a fearful storm of rain prevented it from being carried out, except by two or three reckless and athletic individuals. Some of the party returned early to the Shaws Hotel; others took refuge at Greathead.

At the Poltross Burn the duties of the Chancellor, as conductor, ceased, and devolved upon Mr. Blair, under whose guidance the rest of the programme was carried out, and in fine weather.

In Cumberland the line of the STONE WALL was marked by red flags: of the VALLUM by yellow: Roman roads by white flags, and Roman camps by red and white flags.

WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16TH AND 17TH, 1896.

The second two days' excursion of this Society, 1896, took place on Wednesday and Thursday, September 16th and 17, the members meeting at noon on the former day, at the Waterhead Hotel, Coniston. There were present Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., Carlisle, president; the Rev. R. B. Billinge, Urswick; Mr. W. G. Collingwood and Mrs. Collingwood, Coniston; Mr. Gillings, Broughton-in-Furness; Mr. S. L. Petty and Mrs. Petty, Ulverston; Miss Gough and friend, Mealsgate; Mr. John Rawlinson Ford, Leeds; Mr. Mr. Stephen A. Marshall, Skelwith; Mr. Cedric Vaughan and the Misses Vaughan, Millom; the Rev. F. A. Malleson, Broughton-in Furness; Mr. G. B. Postlethwaite, Westminster; Mr. G. B. Simpson and Mrs. Simpson, Roman Way; Mr. J. Simpson-Yates, Penrith; Mr. W. H. R. Kerry and Mrs. Kerry, Windermere; Mr. Joseph Cartmell, C.E., Brigham; Mr. W. G. M. Townley, Grange-over-Sands; Mr. J. H. Nicholson, Wilmslow; Mrs. Poynting; the Bishop of Barrow, Mrs. Ware, and party; Mr. T. Barlow-Massicks; Mr. George Watson, Penrith; Mr. J. Wrigley and Mrs. Wrigley, Seascale

scale; Mr. Harper Gaythorpe, Barrow; Mr. Richard Carruthers, Carlisle; Mr. W. L. Fletcher, Stoneleigh; Mr. A. Severn, Miss Severn, Mr. A. Severn, jun.; Mr. T. Wilson, secretary, Kendal; and others.

Coniston Hall.

Owing to recent heavy rains the proposed visit to Hummer Bridge for the inspection of pre-historic earthworks at Bleaberry Haws had to be deferred, the long wet grass making it impossible. The route was therefore changed, and Coniston Hall was the first stop in the journey. Here Mr. W. G. Collingwood read a paper on the Hall, written by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., and printed in these *Transactions*, volume ix., p. 439.

Torver Church and the Cranmer Documents.

The next point of call was Torver Church, where the members of the Society were met and welcomed by the rector, the Rev. T. Ellwood, M.A., who in a paper read in the church, said that the manor of Torver belonged formerly to the abbot and monks of Furness. It changed hands several times and in 1738 it was purchased, together with the manor of Ulverston, by the Duke of Montague, and from him it descended by marriage to the Duke of Buccleuch. Now it belongs to the Crown. Originally Torver was a chapelry dependent upon the Church of Ulverston, and was probably served by a reader. In 1538 a faculty for the burial of the dead was granted by Archbishop Cranmer.* There have been three churches on the site of the present church, the last having been consecrated as St. Luke's Church by the late Bishop of Carlisle. The following is a list of incumbents for two centuries back, with dates of preferment: Edwd. Walker 1688, Andrew Naughtley, 1707, John Stoup 1709, Thomas Poole 1716, John Hall, 1718, Robert Walker (the Wonderful Walker) 1734, John Hastwell 1736, Robert Bell 1740, Matthew Inman Carter 1807, and Thomas Ellwood 1861. The Rector pointed out that he and his two predecessors had held the living of Coniston 156 years.

Carriages were then resumed to Sunny Bank; here the members

* A question was asked as to how it was that Archbishop Cranmer should grant a faculty for the right of burial at Torver, which was in the province of York. The Rector replied that in the province of York faculties were always issued from Canterbury, and this was so still. Special licenses for marriages, dispensations to hold livings in plurality, &c., all came from the Archbishop of Canterbury, through the Master of Faculties. These faculties and dispensations were a relic of papal power, and King Henry VIII. transferred this power from the Pope to the Archbishop of Canterbury. (Stat. 25 Hen. 8, c. 21.)

embarked

embarked in boats for Peel Island, where interesting excavation work has recently been conducted. Mr. Collingwood, who has had this work on hand, pointed out the foundations of rough walling and chambers partly cut in the rock, which seemed to indicate dwellings and fortifications of a rude type. At the evening meeting he exhibited a model of the island, showing plan of remains and position of the quarries from which the stone had been got for building: together with iron nails and rivets, fragments of pottery, apparently early mediæval, part of the lip of a freestone mortar, slabs of worked millstone grit, and specimens of the light, porous, purple slag found on the island, Authorities in the neighbourhood were divided on the nature of this slag, which did not resemble any produced in modern smelting works or ancient bloomeries.

The members were conveyed by the steam Gondola up the lake, after their inspection of Peel Island, and on the way the sites of four old bloomeries were pointed out on the west side of the lake. Dinner was at the Waterhead Hotel, Coniston. At a later hour the annual business meeting of the Society was held, when Chancellor Ferguson was re-elected president; Mr. T. Wilson, secretary; and Mr. W. C. Crewdson, treasurer. Mr. John Fell was elected a vice-president of the Council. The Council was re-elected, with the additions of Mr. W. G. Collingwood, representing Coniston district; Colonel Sewell, representing Mid-Cumberland; and Mr. Joseph Swainson, representing the Kendal district, who fill vacancies caused by retirement. Mr. Joseph Simpson, of Roman Way, was elected an auditor, in the place of Mr. Frank Wilson, who has left the district. The following new members were elected:—John Cock, Allerdale House, Cockermouth; the Rev. F. A. Malleson, Broughton-in-Furness; George B. Postlethwaite, Holly Brake, Chislehurst; David Burns, Stanwix, Carlisle; Asher and Co., Covent Garden, London; the Rev. J. Cropper, Seaton; the Rev. Canon Trench, Kendal; the Rev. W. S. Sykes, Millom; Dr. John Kendall, Coniston.

Subsequently, the Rev. T. Ellwood read a paper on "High Furness, its bloomeries, and forges."* This was followed by papers on "The Old Duddon Furnace," by Mr. T. Barlow-Massicks; and a paper on "Pre-historic Remains in Furness," by Mr. Harper Gaythorpe. Both these papers will appear in these *Transactions*.

BROUGHTON-IN-FURNESS.

The members left Coniston on Thursday morning for Broughton,

* Printed in these *Transactions*, Vol. viii., pp. 85-92.

and

and conveyances were taken to the Stone Circle at Swinside, the journey being performed in a perfect deluge of rain.

The Secretary (Mr. T. Wilson) read extracts from a paper on "A Group of Cumberland Megaliths," submitted by Mr. C. W. Dymond, M.I.C.E., F.S.A.,* to the Society, at Workington, in June, 1880, from which it appeared that the number of stones remaining in the Circle at Swinside is 55, of which 32 are still standing, but many have fallen inwards. One of the stones has been rent by a rowan tree, but this, it is noticed, is now dead. The original Circle was a perfect one, and is 92 feet in diameter. Tradition says that at one time there was a stone in the centre of the Circle, but of this there is no trace, and the "oldest inhabitant" can give no information on the subject.

Subsequently Broughton Tower was visited, where a paper on the building was read by Mr. J. Fell, and a paper on Broughton Church by the Vicar, the Rev. F. A. Malleson. A flying visit was paid to the Church to inspect a piece of walling, said locally to be Anglo-Saxon, but which presents none of the characteristics of that work. The party left Broughton at 5 p.m. by trains in both directions, after an interesting two days' excursion, although Thursday's experience of weather will not soon be forgotten.

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* Printed in these *Transactions*, Vol. v., pp. 47-50.

ART. XXIII.—*Pre-historic Implements in Furness.* By HARPER GAYTHORPE, of Barrow-in-Furness.

Read at Coniston, September 16th, 1896.

BEFORE proceeding with the description of the implements I exhibit to-night, I may say that the earliest notice I have found relating to an implement of the Bronze Age in Furness is that of the "brass instrument or celt found in the ruins of Gleaston Castle," which was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries on May 23rd, 1776.* This celt was 9 inches long, ½ inch thick in the middle, one end like a common hatchet with a sharp edge 5 inches broad, tapering to the other end, which was not above 1½ broad, also formed with a sharp edge. It was finely polished, covered with a beautiful patina, and weighed 2lb. 5oz.† It belongs to the class called by Sir John Evans flat celts. I briefly enumerate four implements of the Neolithic Age, and two implements of the Bronze Age, as follows:—No. 1, perforated stone axe-hammer, found near Barrow Central Station, 1886. No. 2, perforated stone axe-hammer, found near Stainton, 1882. No. 3, perforated stone hammer, brought from Rampside about 1876. No. 4, stone celt, found at Haltcliff, Cumberland, about 1834-5. No. 5, bronze celt, found at Castle Sowerby, Caldbeck, Cumberland, about 1780. No. 6, bronze celt, found at Mossfield, Roose, near Barrow, 1872. No. 1.—This perforated stone axe-hammer of porphyritic lava was discovered in October, 1886, five feet below the surface, at a point 80 yards

* Engraved in *Archæologia*, Vol. v., p. 106, Pl. VII. It is now the property of Victor C. W. Cavendish, Esq., M.P., Holker Hall, Cark-in-Cartmel.

† These are the figures as given in *Archæologia*: the length is only 8¾ inches, while the weight is 2lb. 5¼oz.

north

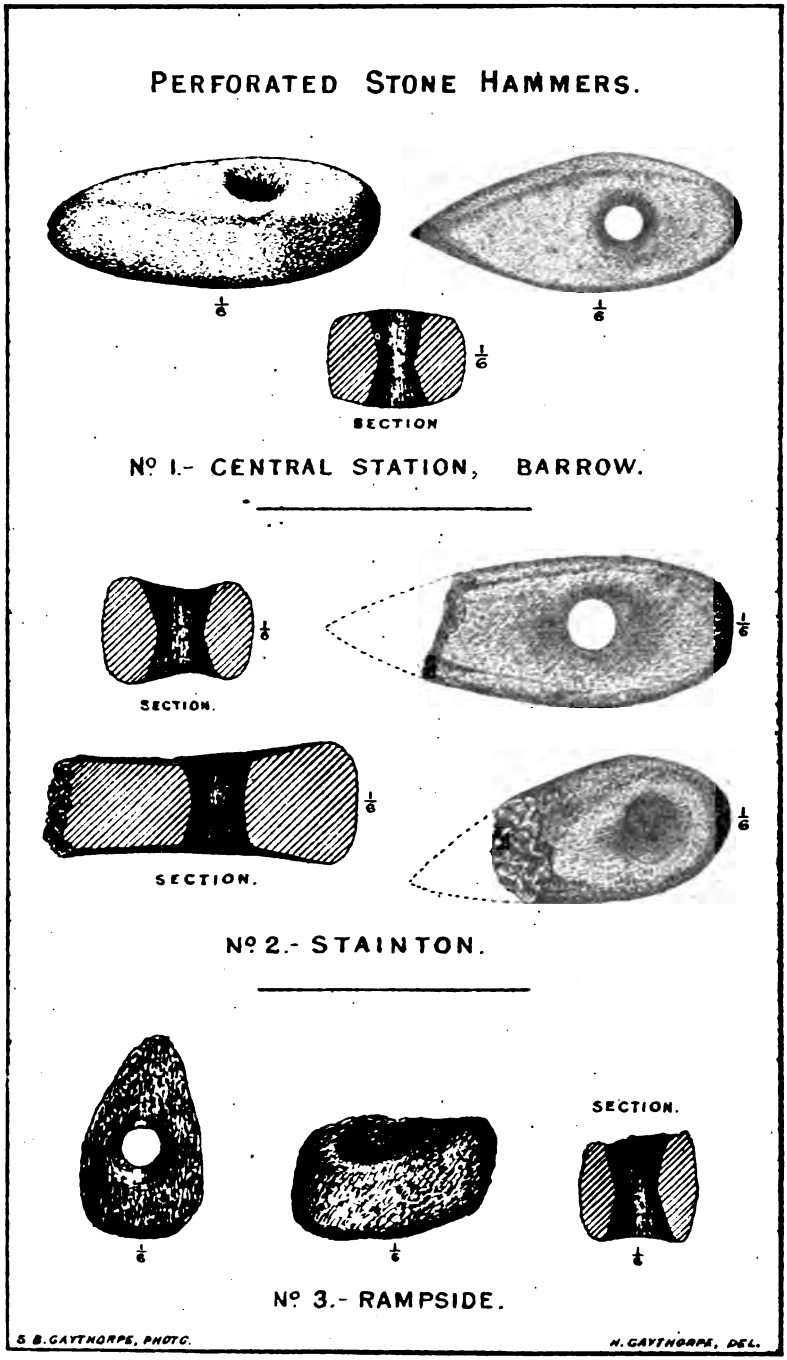

PLATE I.—STONE HAMMERS.

north of the Barrow Central Station, in a gravel bed resting on upper boulder clay, and therefore dating from the post glacial period. It is beautifully smooth all over the surface, and is now perfect, excepting a small flake at the axe end, and three marks apparently made by a pick, one at the axe end, and one on either side of the perforation. Inside the latter there is a hollow, suggestive of the stone having been perforated from both sides, as the hole is slightly askew, but perfectly smooth. This specimen is of a greenish grey colour, with minute specks of white quartz all over the surface. The axe end is sharpened to an angle of 60 degrees at the point, tapering to an angle of 45 degrees towards the widest part of the stone, the hammer end forming a segment of a circle about 2 inches in diameter, and the axe end a circle of 2½ inches. Its length over all is 10¼ inches, width 4¼ inches, thickness 3 inches. The hole is 1⅞ inch in diameter on the surface on one side, and 2 inches on the other—the top side, and tapers towards the centre, where it is 1 3-16ths of an inch in diameter the broad way of the stone, and 1 1-6th of an inch the long way. It weighs 7lbs., and is now in the possession of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club. No. 2.—This perforated stone axe-hammer was found about 1882, whilst repairing an old occupation road called Slop Lane, about one mile from Stainton. It is a very hard, dark, greenish-grey stone of porphyritic lava, (Andesyte), and where broken shows patches of light grey, black, and reddish-brown or bronze-coloured spots, and a few dark-coloured shining specks, possibly of magnetic iron. The stone has in the course of time acquired a scale 1-24th of an inch thick of a drab or stone colour, worn and pitted. A specimen of rock exactly identical with that of which this axe-hammer is composed, now in the Geological Museum, Jermyn Street, London, came from near Bootle, Cumberland. The top and bottom surfaces have been hollowed gradually from the sides and hammer

hammer ends to a $\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep in the centre. The hole is almost cylindrical, smooth inside and partly polished, 1 11-16ths of an inch in diameter the long way of the stone, and 1 9-16ths of an inch in diameter the broad way, and appears to have been perforated from top and bottom. It is now 9 inches long, and when entire has been about 12 inches. It is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches thick at the broken end, and $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches at the hammer end. Its weight is 9lb. 11oz. The present owner is Mr. Thomas Lawrence, of Flookburgh, Cark-in-Cartmel. Porphyritic lava very similar to that just referred to is now worked at Greenscoe Quarries, near High Haume, Ireleth. Mr. C. Jopling, in his "Sketch of Furness and Cartmel," refers to 20 celts or stone hammers being found upon what appeared to be the foundations of an old building near High Haume, in various stages of completion, some only in form, and others finely polished, showing that here was probably a factory for making these implements. The celt found at Roosebeck, and figured in Richardson's "Furness, Past and Present," has also been made from a similar kind of stone. No. 3.—This perforated stone hammer of sandstone was brought from the Clarke's Arms, Rampside, about 1876. It is of a brown colour, with dark chocolate-coloured stains, and light grey patches where recently chipped. All over the surface are small specks of mica, and to all appearance the sandstone geologically belongs to the carboniferous series. The perforation has been made from both top and bottom, and in the inside near the top, the circular ring marks, showing the method of grinding out the hole, are plainly visible. The hole having recently been used as a receptacle for putty, the oil therefrom has soaked through the stone, causing it to be darker coloured. The stone is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches wide, 3 inches thick at the hammer end, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the pointed end, and weighs 4lbs. 1oz. The hole tapers from the surface, being 2 inches in diameter on one side—

the

the lower—and 2⅛ inches on the other side, the diameter inside being 1¾ inches the broad way, and 1 9-16ths of an inch the long way of the stone. It is now in the possession of Mr. W. R. Ormandy, of Barrow. In these hammers, none of the perforations are exactly round, two of them being slightly less in diameter the broad way of the stone, and in the sandstone hammer additional strength is gained by its being made much wider in proportion to the length. These implements are all of the same type, and differ very much from the stone celts commonly found in Cumberland and Westmorland. They were hafted like modern hammers, while the celt required a socketed handle, into which it was set axe-wise, and not like an adze. No. 4.—The next specimen is a stone celt dug up at Haltcliff, in the Parish of Caldbeck, Cumberland, in the year 1834-5, in cutting through a meadow, the site of ancient dwellings. The stone is buff or cream-coloured, with brownish patches, and is evidently of volcanic origin, "the most unusual feature being the peculiar finish along the edges of the stone," these having being apparently either worn or ground away from a sharp edge to a width a little over ⅛ of an inch. It has been described as "Soap Stone," and the softness of the surface may be due to weathering. It is 5½ inches long, 2 7-16ths of an inch wide at one end where it is sharpened, 1½ inch at the narrower end, and 1 5-16ths of an inch thick. The present owner is Mr. J. Alston, of Barrow. Both classes of stone implements were used as axes. The difference in type may probably be accounted for by supposing that stone of a character suitable for the manufacture of celts could not readily be obtained by the men of Low Furness, and they, therefore, adopted the clumsier axe-hammer type. It is unlikely that these implements were habitually used as hammers, for in the absence of metals there could be few uses to which they were adapted that would not be better performed by a wooden mallet or a heavy

heavy maul. No. 5.—This bronze celt was found in a cave on the edge of the river Gilcoman, in the parish of Castle Sowerby, Caldbeck, Cumberland, about 1780, and others were reported to have been found there. It is of a later type than another specimen which I shall exhibit. The flanges are continuous throughout the stem, and the "cable" or hammer marks on the flanges are plainly shown. The celt is 5 9-16ths of an inch long, 3 5-16ths of an inch across at the widest part, and 15-16ths of an inch at the bottom of the stem; and 9-16ths of an inch thick across the centre of a section, the cutting edges being quite sharp. Its weight is 15ozs. The patina has been partly removed, but where it remains it is polished, and of a chocolate colour. Across the centre of the stem, on both sides, the metal is raised, and there is a slight hollow about $\frac{1}{8}$th of an inch wide on either side of the raised part; evidently made in the same way as the cable marks after the celt was cast, thus forming a stop ridge when fixed in a handle. The present owner is Mr. J. Alston, of Barrow. No. 6.—This bronze celt was found at a depth of 12 or 13 inches below the grass surface of a meadow, when digging the foundations for houses at Mossfield, Roose, in 1872. The ground in the neighbourhood is boggy, as its place-name denotes. The celt is $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches long, 2 5-16ths of an inch wide across the widest part, 11-16ths of an inch wide at the bottom of the stem, and at the central portion of the stem it is half-an-inch thick, as shown in the cross-section. This is the thickest portion of the celt, and from there it tapers gradually to the edges. It weighs $5\frac{3}{4}$ozs., and is quite smooth all over the surface. No hammer marks are visible, nor has the patina been removed. The latter is of a brown colour, and shades to an orange tint inside the flanges. The rudimentary flanges of this celt project much further outwards in the lower half of the stem, but it is of an earlier type, and similar to the description in

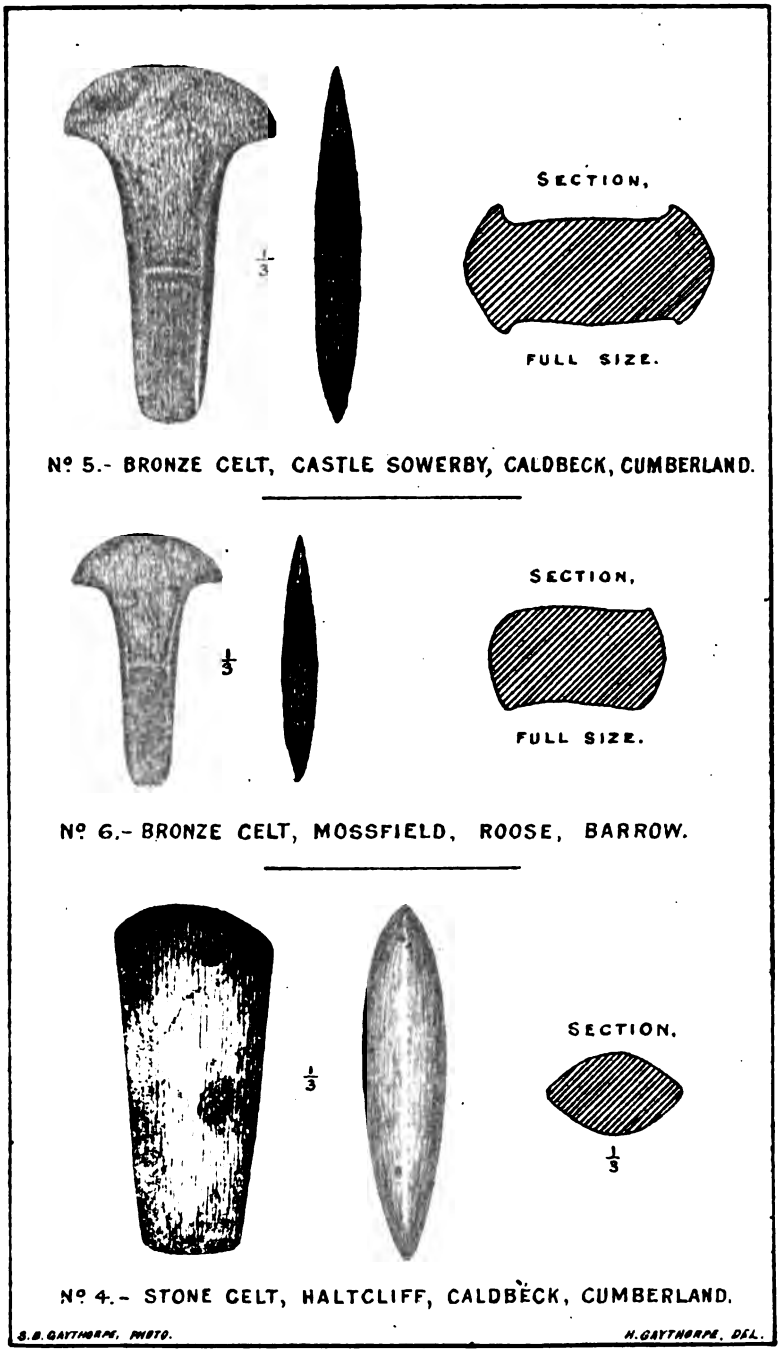

PLATE II.—BRONZE IMPLEMENTS.

in Sir John Evans' "Ancient Bronze Implements," page 43, lines 3 to 8, and page 46, figure 5. At a point 1 inch from the bottom of the stem, the flanges project 5-48ths of an inch. The cutting edge is quite sharp, and so also is the edge at the narrower end, where it is now bent over about 1-16th of an inch, possibly through a fall. The present owner is Mr. Joseph Waddington, Mossfield, Roose, Barrow. In conclusion, I may say that there is, indeed, a very wide field still open for investigation and exploration in Furness. At the present time I have a list of other implements which have not yet been noticed, and I hope in due course to bring it forward. In the meantime, I have the honour to lay before you for inspection some other implements not referred to in this paper, which have been kindly lent to me, and also a number of photographs taken by my son, Sidney B. Gaythorpe. I hope that this effort may prove of interest, and stimulate others in the same field of archæological research.

ART. XXIV.—*The Old Blast Furnace at Duddon Bridge.* By THOMAS BARLOW-MASSICKS.

Read at Coniston, September 16th, 1896.

OF the many tourists who now visit the beautiful Duddon Valley, but few of them are aware that ruins of Ironworks of a most interesting character exist at Duddon Bridge, on the Cumberland side of Wordsworth's "cerulean Duddon." Here in a secluded corner, hid by vast overhanging woods, a blast furnace was built early in the seventeenth century by an ironmaster named Jackson, who also had works of a similar kind in Scotland. The obvious reason for selecting such a position was the abundance of charcoal produced from the extensive coppice woods around it, and also to take advantage of the water power of the Duddon, by which the primitive "blowing" machinery was driven.

Bearing in mind that the objects of this Society are far removed from such mundane operations as iron-making, I will exclude from this paper but the merest technical details, but I must observe that as between the "Bloomeries," to which our attention is directed at this meeting, and the modern blast furnace of to-day, the old furnace at Duddon Bridge is one of the most interesting connecting links extant.

The works consist of one blast furnace, 28 feet 6 inches high from the charging floor to the hearth. The diameter is 2 feet 6 inches at the top, 9 feet at the bosh,* and I should estimate the diameter of the hearth at 3 feet. The furnace was, of course, lined with fire brick, but the struc-

* "Bosh, boshes." According to Kennett MS. Lansd. 1033, "the bottom of the furnace in which they melt their iron ore, the sides of which furnace descend obliquely like the hopper of a mill." Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic Words.

ture

ture itself, square in outward shape, is built, as are all the other buildings, of the rough, strong, native rock. The charcoal store-houses are by far the most extensive part of the works, as the quantity of charcoal made in any single year was insufficient to carry on the smelting operation regularly, and the furnace had periodically to remain idle until a sufficient supply was stored in these large buildings.

In 1790 a lease was granted by John Cookson-Gilpin Sawrey, of Broughton Tower, to Joseph Latham, of Goatfield, in Argyllshire, and Richard Latham, of Broughton-in-Furness, ironmasters, empowering them to make a weir across the river Duddon, but as the works had been carried on long before that date, water power from the Duddon must have been somehow obtained. Late in the last, or early in the present century, the Duddon furnace was acquired and worked by Messrs. Harrison, Ainslie, and Co., and by them carried on until about 1866, or perhaps a little later, since which time it has fallen into disuse. The hematite iron produced was "cold blast" of the highest quality—ranking with Swedish iron.

I exhibit at this meeting a "pig" of this iron, branded D 1781, found by me at Borwick Rails, Millom, in 1866, doing duty as a lintel or bearer for an overhanging chimney stack on an old farm-house there. The iron made at the Duddon furnace was shipped at Borwick Rails harbour, which will account for this stray "pig" of iron. It may be observed that the ancient Millom harbour of Borwick Rails is again at the present day the place of export for the millions of tons of ore from the Hodbarrow mines, and the pig iron from the Millom blast furnaces.

ART. XXV.—*Some Notes on the Manors of Mansergh and Rigmaden, formerly in the Parish of Kirkby Lonsdale.* By EDWARD CONDER, Jun., F.S.A.

THE township of Mansergh, formerly in the parish of Kirkby Lonsdale, but since 1888, a separate ecclesiastical parish, lies three miles to the north of Kirkby Lonsdale. It is bounded on the north, west, and south by the townships of Killington, Lupton, and Kirkby Lonsdale respectively.

At the Doomsday survey, Mansergh, or Manzsergh as it was then written, was included in that portion of Yorkshire known as Agemundreness (Amounderness). It was one of twelve manors held in this district during the reign of Edward the Confessor, by Torfin, a Saxon Thegen.

In Nicolson and Burn's "History of Westmorland," we are told that traditionally Mansergh and Barbon were once one Manor,* but I cannot find any evidence to corroborate this statement. At the time of the survey they were certainly separate, as Barbon or Berebrune, was held by Tosti, Earl of Northumberland.

Mansergh being included in the Barony of Kendal, its early "lords" will be found in the general history of that barony. It is of course probable that from the first it was a Mesne Manor, and held under the chief lord by some Norman family, possibly the one which afterwards bore the surname of de Mansergh, and flourished there for some centuries. At the division of the barony, by the failure of the heir male of Gilbert Fitz Reinfrid and Helwise de Lancaster his wife, Mansergh appears to have been divided into two manors known as Mansergh and

* Nicolson and Burn, Vol. i., p. 251.

Pedigree of Godsalve o

WILLIAM GODSALVE = MARGAR
of Borwick in Co. Lanc. ætat 72 18 martij ao 1664.
da. of W of Borwi Lanc.

THOS. GODSALVE = SUSANNA
of Rigmaden in Co. Westmerd æt. 42 anno 20 martij ao. 1664. A merchant at Amsterdam. Interred Jan. 7, 1694, at Kirkby Lonsdale.
dau. of Thomas Cartmell of Farlton. Interred at Kirkby Lonsdale, July 4, 1718.

THOMAS GODSALVE = ANNIE HUSBAND
of Rigmaden. bap. 1669. mar. Feb. 4, 1705. bur. May 20, 1750.
dau. of Tempest Husband of Ky. Lonsdale, by Margt. niece of Simon Battersby of Biggins, bur. at Ky. Lonsdale, 30 Mar. 1765. [The Husbands were a cadet branch of the Husbands of Bentham Hall, Yorks.]

Another d. mar. to Abraham Rawlinson of Lancaster.

SUSANNAH = HUGH ASHTON
b. Feb. 16, 1706, mar. 1726, d. at Kirfitt Hall, Sep 1731.
of Croston Lanes—a branch of Ashton of Ashton. In 1730 he purchased "Near Underley" in the parish of Ky. Lonsdale.
bap. mar. bur. dale,

JOHN WILSON ROBINSON = MARGARET MAWDESLEY
of Maryport. Mayor of Kendal 1757.
b. at Kirfitt Hall, bap. Aug. 3, 1735, d. at Beckhead, Feb. 12, 1812. Sold Rigmaden to Mr. Satterthwaite of Lancaster, Oct. 28, 1784.

ROBERT GOD
b. at Kirfitt H bur. Jan. 7, 1

MARY ROBINSON = HENRY BAINBRIDGE, M.D.
b. Jan. 1, 1761, bur. at Maryport.
of Sedbergh, d. Dec. 25, 1816, æt. 53, bur. at Kirkby Lonsdale.

GODSALVE THOS. ROBINSON
b. Apl. 3, 1757, bap. at Kendal. Lost at sea.

WILSON R
b. at Ken 1759, d. y

GODSALVE MAWDESLEY BAINBRIDGE
obt. inf.

MARGARET BAINBRIDGE
d. Aug. 28, 1817. Oct. 29, bur. at Kirkby Lonsdale.

dau. o of Cro

Rigmaden.

The first and second generations are to be found in Dugdale's Visitation of the County in 1666. No proof appears to have been forthcoming for the Arms then produced viz.: per pale gules and az. on a fess wavy argt. between 3 crosses pattee or, as many crescents sa.

CREST—A griffen's head per pale erased, holding a rose slipped (no colours.)

=

m Sander
Co.

LIAM GODSALVE
sabell da. of
rge Tounson of
hfield, Co. Lanc.

RICHARD GODSALVE
Citizen of London, m.
Jane, da. of——
Vauley of the City of
London.

JOHN GODSALVE
m. Jane, da. of
William Hodgkin of
Yealand, in Co. Lanc.

SANNAH
p. 1666,
r. 1686
w: Tong.

MARGARET
bap. 1668.

ISABEL
d. 1671.

WILLIAM
of Kirfitt Hall, Casterton, bap. 1671, bur. March 20, 1711. He owned Hebblethwaite Hall, near Sedbergh and land in the Parishes of Kirkby Lonsdale, & Gressingham. His Will bears date 3d. of Queen Anne.

IARGARET = REV. THOS. MAWDESLEY
27, 1708.
24, 1732.
y. Lons-
27, 1781.
of Mawdesely Hall, in the Parish of Croston, Lancs. He died at Heskin Hall, 17 Oct. 1735.

E MAWDESLEY
bap. July 25, 1734,

ANN = JOHN WILKINSON
bur. at Wrexham
of Castle Head, Lindale, Lancs., and of Wrexham.

NSON
Oct. 2,

MARGARET ROBINSON = WILLIAM GIBSON,
mar. Apl. 24, 1786.
died 1808.
of Beck Head, Kirkby Lonsdale.

MARY WILKINSON
bap. at Ky. Lonsdale, 12 April, 1756.
mar. the Rev. Houlbrooke of Market Drayton. Had issue who died young.

ANNE = JOSEPH GIBSON,
eginald Remington,
ees, Melling, Lancs.
of Whelprigg.
b. 1805, d. 1833.

Other children.

Rigmaden. The former falling to the share of Helwise, elder daughter of Gilbert Fitz Reinfrid, wife to Peter de Brus. Eventually at the sub-division of her moiety it became part of the Marquis fee.

The latter, which formed part of the other moiety of the barony, passed by marriage of Alice, the younger daughter of Gilbert Fitz Reinfrid, to the de Lindesays, and from them on failure of heir male, to the de Coucys of France, ultimately it became merged into the Richmond fee.

We find the township of Mansergh is therefore partly in the Marquis fee and partly in the Richmond. Evidence of this is furnished by a list, temp. Elizabeth, of the several manors belonging to the Marquis and Richmond fees to be found in the Rawlinson MSS. at Oxford.*

Taking the manor of Mansergh first, the inquisitions post-mortem for the 31 Edward I. shew that in 1303, Roger de Burton held "terr and ten" in Mansergh, Lupton, and other manors within the Marquis fee. It is probable that the de Manserghs, if then in possession of the manor, held the same of Roger de Burton who in turn held it, with his other estates, of the chief lord, William de Roos, who inherited his mother's moiety of the barony.

Unfortunately the inquisitions post-mortem are singularly silent with regard to the manor of Mansergh, and we can only conclude that the family of de Mansergh continued to flourish there uninterruptedly.

In the feet of fines, 12, Edward II., the name of Thomas de Mansergh is found in connection with Mansergh and Barbon. In 1383, John de Mansergh was chosen Knight of the shire, evidence of their being a family of consideration.

There is, however, little else to be found respecting them until the time of Elizabeth, when, by an inquisition held at Appleby Castle in 1591, after the death of Chris-

* Rawlinson MSS., 437, Fo. 251.

topher

topher Mansergh, who had died in 1568, it appears he held in Mansergh, his capital messuage (Mansergh Hall), and other lands by fealty and the service of six broad arrows yearly (*Sex Sagittarum furcarum*). That he was not then the lord of the manor of Mansergh is proved by the Feet of Fines, 3, Edward VI., where it is shewn that the manor proper was in the hands of the Stanley family, and previously in the family of de Rigmaden or Rygmaden. This family were not, however, the owners of Rigmaden Manor, as will be shewn. [There is, in the absence of documentary evidence, much to be cleared up respecting this family with respect to the manor of Mansergh.]

From the Stanleys the manor or lordship of Mansergh passed to the Redmayne family of Thornton in Yorkshire,* a cadet branch of the Redmaynes of Levens.† From evidence supplied by the Feet of Fines, and from documents preserved with the Conder family papers at Terry Bank, a small freehold estate still in possession of the writer's family, it appears that Marmaduke Redmayne allowed several of his tenants who held their land by tenant-right to become freeholders by selling to them the fee simple of their estates. By a deed dated 16th March, 1584, the fee simple of Terry Bank was obtained by the payment of fifteen pounds to Marmaduke Redmayne.‡

In 1612, Edward Conder, of Terry Bank, purchased a parcel of ground in Mansergh from one Richard Moore, who held it by a small quit rent from Robert Wilson.

By evidence found in the Conder documents, Henry Wilson had purchased in 1579, 16 acres of pasture from William Mansergh and Jane his wife, and doubtless held

* Conder family papers, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

† This branch of the Redmayne family were settled at Thornton in the early part of the fifteenth century, if not before. From the Banco Rolls for Hilary Terms, 6th, Edward III., we learn that in A.D. 1430, Thomas de Redmane, Esquire, of Thornton, sued William Mansergh, of Mansergh, gentleman, and Thomas Mansergh, of Mansergh, with others, for a debt of 40s.

‡ Conder family papers, No. 5 (B).

the

the same in fee simple. By the conveyance of a portion of this property to Edward Conder in 1612, Robert Wilson appears to have assumed the position of "lord of the fee," as a small annual quit rent was to be paid him, also a fine of two shillings on the death or alienation of the said Robert Wilson or Edward Conder, &c., &c. This is a curious instance of the sub-division of the rights of a chief lord or owner.

In 1588 Marmaduke Redmayne parted with the manor of Mansergh to Henry Brabyn for two hundred and sixty marks.

Extracts from the Feet of Fines, Lay subsidy rolls and the Court of Wards and Liveries, shew that the manor of Mansergh became broken up into several small freeholds, and considerable difficulty was frequently experienced on the death of the freeholder, his heirs not being sure if the Crown could claim a "relief" or not. In the case of Edward Conder,of Terry Bank, who died in 1617, his widow, Alice Conder, was advised to file a "bill" † in the Court of Wards and Liveries to try the point, and if wardship were claimed, to compound for it, her son Edward not being of age. Although the records of this court have been searched, the result of her application cannot be found; the manor of Mansergh having become so broken up it was not until after the purchase of Rigmaden manor by a Mr. Thomas Godsalve in 1661, that all rights and privileges connected with Mansergh again became united, and with Rigmaden, ultimately formed the new manor of Mansergh, Mr. Godsalve having subsequently bought up the land held by the Brabyn family and some other freeholders in Mansergh. Upon holding his first Court Baron in 1664, he appears as lord of the manor of Mansergh [Rigmaden being understood to be included.]

† Conder papers, No. 15.

With

With regard to Rigmaden, it has already been shewn that at an early date it was a separate Manor, and held of the Richmond fee. From the inquisitions post-mortem for 18, Edward III. after the death of Thomas Ward, of Kendale, it appears that the said Thomas held jointly with Maud his wife, the manor of Rigmaden as of the lands of William de Coucy by homage, fealty, and the service of one barbed arrow yearly at Whitsuntide. The manor, at the death of Maud, widow of Thomas Ward, passed to their son, Adam Ward; and afterwards continued in the Ward family until 1661, when Thomas Godsalve, merchant of Amsterdam, purchased the property from Henry Ward, subject to the approval of Henry Ward the younger, and Thomas Ward, brother to Henry Ward, senior. On the death of Thomas Godsalve in 1696, the joint manors of Mansergh and Rigmaden passed to his son, Thomas Godsalve, of Rigmaden, gentleman, at whose death in 1750 they were inherited by Margaret his daughter, wife of the Rev. Thomas Mawdesley, of Mawdesley Hall, Croston, Co. Lancashire. At her death in 1781, the manor passed to her two daughters, Margaret, wife of John Wilson Robinson, of Maryport,* and Ann, wife of John Wilkinson, of Lindale, Co. Lancashire. In 1784 Mrs. Margaret Robinson, in conjunction with Mary Wilkinson, her niece, sold the joint manors of Mansergh and Rigmaden to Mr. John Satterthwait, of Lancaster, in whose family they remained until 1821, when they were sold by Charles Satterthwait to Christopher Wilson, Esq., of Kendal, together with 1,300 acres of common, quit rents valued at £5 18s. 2½d., and fines on death or alienation of lords or tenant, equal to fifteen times the annual rent. The manors are now in the possession of Christopher Wyndham Wilson, Esq., his grandson, by whose kindness I have been able to copy the par-

* Mayor of Kendal, 1757.

ticulars

ticulars of the Court Baron held in 1664, given in Appendix* to this paper.

I am also indebted to Miss Margaret Gibson, of Whelprigg, Barbon, a descendant of the Godsalve family through Mrs. Margaret Gibson, grand-daughter of Margaret, wife of the Rev. Thomas Mawdesley, for the pedigree of Godsalve and other notes concerning that family. At Whelprigg are preserved portraits of Thomas Godsalve, who purchased Rigmaden in 1661; Thomas Godsalve, his son; Margaret Mawdesley, his grand-daugter; also portraits of Mr. John Wilson Robinson and Margaret his wife.

The muniments at Whelprigg also include many interesting documents relating to Mansergh during the time the manor was in the hands of the Godsalve family.

APPENDIX A.

Extracts from the Manor Book.†

MANERIUM de MANSERGH } A Verdict of the Jury of the said Manor or Lordship of Mansergh agreed upon and presented in the year of our Lord God 1664 as followeth:

	s.	d.
That none within the Lordship make any Rescue upon pain or forfeit to the Lord of the Manor	3	4
That none make any affray within the same on pain of	6	8
That none make any Hubbleshaw‡ within the same on pain of	3	4
That none cut down his lords chief woods except it be for building, or plows, harrows or other necessaries on pain of.....	3	4
That none break the lord's pinfold § on pain of	6	8

* Appendix, A.
† The manor book is a folio of about 250 pages of good stout paper, 13 by 8in. It begins in 1664.
‡ Hubbleshaw=Tumult.
§ Pinfold=Pound.

That

That none cut down any garding of spelks* but in their own ground on pain of 3 4
That none keep any by-hearth on pain of 10 0
That none take in within the Lordship any tenant that is not born within the township contrary to this order, and they that shall take in any such for want of good bond, entering to the foreman of the Jury, or to some of his fellow jurrors that such shall not be chargeable to the township according to the statute, for every month shall forfeit for the use of the poor 6 8
That none take in any inmate on pain of 6 8
That none suffer any carding or diceing or any unlawful games within their house, or meet at any time unfitting on pain of 6 8
That every household and every player at such unlawful games shall forfeit every one 3 4
That none break or carry away any of his neighbours hedges upon pain of 3 4
That none of the Jurors absent themselves from the rest of their fellow jurors after lawful warning given for meeting without lawful excuse on pain of 1 0
That no inhabitant within this township refuse to come to this Jury when they are sent for on pain of 3 4
That none leave open any Fell gate in summer on pain of 6 8
That none put any unlawful goods upon the common to pasture not any but their own, on pain of 6 8
That Fell gates and all other gates adjoining to the common be hung at the 24th March and be kept in good repair till All hallow day yearly for every gate wanting the forfeit of 3 4
That all fell fences are to be made and upheld from the 25th of March till all hallows day yearly on pain of.... .... 6 8
That none stop any water course on pain of 3 4
That none put any goods in the lanes unless it be upon their own fronts, and they that herd them on pain of 3 4
That every householder send an able workman to the highways when commanded on pain of.... .... 1 0
That none carry the Jury to try betwixt party and party, and the dissenter give the Jury 1 0

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* Spelk=a splinter of wood; in this case it probably refers to withy grounds of willows.

That

That if any have a way over his neighbours ground to carry or recarry he shall make up the gaps again or gate as good as it was or else forfeit 3 4

That none shear any grass off his neighbours ground without leave of the owner upon pain of 3 4

That none go over his neighbours ground as an ordinary path in summer time, but where the antient path lies, on pain of 3 4

That none stop any usual footpath that of right ought to be on pain of 3 4

That none shall drive or ride horses or carts or goods over . . . . . but only on the highways on pain of 3 4

That none shall burn any ling upon the common after the last day of March neither any man's children or servants but for every such fault their father or master shall forfeit and pay 3 4

That none shall beat herd or drive away goods upon the common but their own at any time of the year upon pain to forfeit for every offence 6 8

It is ordered and confirmed that those who ever have taken in or shall hereafter take in any by-servant contrary to our order not entering bond for them, they that take them first in or theirs if need require shall maintain them at their own proper cost and charges.

That none grave above six days work of Flaws or prick sodds on pain of 6 8

That all except cottagers begin the 2nd day of May to grave peats, flaws, prick sodds, and may grave till the 13th of May for their own use and none to grave after, either for themselves to use or to sell to any tenant on pain of 6 8

We prcsent the occupiers of Stangana Moss if it be not repaired at or before the 4th day of May, and every one which doth not repair his proportion to be fined 6 8

Edward Conder.	Joseph Holme.
John Bambrigg.	James Wilson.
John Glover.	Thomas Moore.
Edward Richardson.	Thomas Otway.
George Bailey.	James Dodgson.
John Vetinson.	Richard Bland.
Richard Atkinson.	1664.

Here follows certain petty offences that were tried before the Court. The following are among them and will serve as examples.

Steward. Richard Rowlandson.

1665

1665. At a Court Baron the following fines were inflicted.

	£	s.	d.
John Wilson for refusing to swear	1	0	0
Richard Atklnson Junr. for non appearance	0	3	4
Brian Walker confili (?)	0	3	4

The Jury.

Edward Harling.	Thomas Moore.
Richard Bland.	Edward Richardson.
George Bayley.	James Dodgson.
Edward Conder.	Joseph Holme.
John Vetenson.	Christopher Conder.
Thomas Otway.	John Bainbrigge.

Sept. 24th, 1666.

(Same Jury).

Joseph Bigland doeth present Edward Baines for graving and digging of Flawes or Turfes in his sheep heafe contrary to custome. Fined 3s. 4d.

The above J. Bigland doeth present William Houseman or his Family for cutting or carrying away Brackens of Block Haw. Fined 2s.

We the Jury do order that Edward Benson nor no other person within this Lordship shall lodge or entertain a woman that is or hath been at Edward Benson's and for him or them that harbour or lodge her after notice for every hours keeping her shall forfeit

1667.

We find James Borwick to have burned many sodds to ashes for manure contrary to antient custom. Fined 6s. 8d.

We do order that the house in Old Town green of George Bayliff shall be kept for habitation of such poor people as the Hamlet shall think fit to be put there.

Edward Waller and Margaret his wife complain against Edward Richardson for XXs. debt as they will declare. We find Edward Richardson due to Edward Waller Xs.

The same against Joseph Holme for a Bible. 3s.

April 23. 1679.

John Glover admitted tenant of a parcel of land purchased by him of Christopher Conder of the yearly rent of 6s. 1d.

1685 no entries until 1730.

1750. June 28.

A list of tenants summoned to appear at Rigmaiden Hall at a Court Baron after the death of Mr. Thomas Godsalve.

Adam

Adam Dawson.	James Kilner.
John Bownass.	Thomas Winder.
Thomas Glover.	John Richardson.
John Glover.	Agnes Sheppherd.
Robert Glover.	John Thompson.
John Atkinson.	Thomas Harris.
Roger Hadwen.	Edward Conder.

At this Court all the old rules for the guidance of the manor were revised. The old rules of keeping lodgers, playing cards, dice, &c., were cut out.

Last entry in this book is in 1788.

ART. XXVI.—*An Ancient Village in Hugill.* By the President, Chancellor FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Reprinted, with corrections, from the *Manchester Guardian*, of Nov. 16, 1896.

With some Notes thereon by C. W. DYMOND, F.S.A., and H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

SOME years ago the curiosity of Mr. Addison, of Kendal, was aroused about a field on his farm at High Hugill, near Ings, in Westmorland, of which farm Mr. Addison's father then was, and had for more than twenty years been, the tenant. The field in question—a quarter of a mile nearly due north from the farmhouse of High Hugill—is enclosed by a modern stone wall. In extent it is nearly 2 acres [1a. 3r. 28p.] and is occupied by the ruins of ancient works, which have been thoroughly despoiled at some period or other to furnish materials for stone field fences. Nothing appears on the Ordnance map but the modern fence-wall of the field, and it cannot be ascertained that any name is attached to the remains. They were unknown to the late Mr. Clifton Ward, and do not appear in his list of "Archæological Remains in the Lake District."* Mr. Addison besought the assistance of the experts of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, of which he was a member, and several of them paid visits to the place. Some little excavation was made, and also a survey, from which a plan was prepared. In July, 1881, the Society visited the place; a paper by Mr. T. Wilson, the Society's secretary, was read, and Chancellor Ferguson added some remarks, pointing out that the remains were those of an ancient British village, containing several ruined hut-circles, and surrounded by a fallen wall, whose line is nearly defined

* These *Transactions*, Vol. iii., pp. 241-265.

by

by the modern fence. The plan, Mr. Wilson's paper, and the Chancellor's remarks were published in the Society's *Transactions*.* The plan, however (no blame to the surveyor, who had no previous experience in planning prehistoric remains), was not very satisfactory; it was, in fact, too ingenious, and showed rather too many hut-circles, the mistake being made of taking and completing on the plan as hut-circles sundry curvatures, turns, and corners in internal division walls and natural banks. In 1890 the editor of the *Transactions*, Chancellor Ferguson, being, on second thoughts, somewhat sceptical about this plan, induced Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., a gentleman of great experience in planning prehistoric remains,† to re-survey the Hugill remains for the Society. This he did, and his plan, with a paper, appears in the Society's *Transactions*, and may be thoroughly relied upon for accuracy.‡

The remains cover nearly two acres, and are surrounded by an ancient enclosing bank or rampart, which is shown by the edge stones remaining in various places to have been from ten to fourteen feet broad. The principal gateway is in the middle of the north-western side. It was approached by a short hollow way, screened—in military phrase, covered—by a low rocky scarp, crowned with a great heap of stones. From this entrance a passage, with openings on either hand into several enclosures, led into the interior. There were probably two other entrances in the south-western and south-eastern sides respectively, of which the last gave ready access to a spring some 65 feet from the south corner of the village. This spring would be the source from which the villagers got their water

* Vol. vi., pp. 86-90.

† See his "Worlebury, an Ancient Stronghold in the county of Somerset." Also in these *Transactions*, Cumberland Megaliths, Vol. v., pp. 39-59; Mayburgh and King Arthur's Round Table, Vol. xi., pp. 187-219; An Ancient Village near Yanwath, Vol. xi., pp. 1-5; Barnscar, *Ibid*, pp. 179-187.

‡ These *Transactions*, Vol. xii., pp. 6-14.

supply

supply. There may, perhaps, have been a fourth gate, but it is difficult to be certain. The area enclosed by the ancient boundary wall falls in level about 30 feet from the northernmost and highest corner to the south corner, the lowest; and is divided into four successive stages or shelves. (i.) First, under the scarp of the rampart is a shelving terrace about 60 feet wide, containing towards its western end a small hut-circle, about 7 feet in diameter. The lower edge of this terrace has been artifically improved and heightened so as to shelter the next stage or shelf from the north wind. (ii.) The next, or second, shelf is 90 feet broad at its western end, dwindling to a point at its eastern end; its surface is broken by several banks, one of which, a spur-shaped bank, has been improved in the earlier plan into a hut-circle of the diameter of 56 feet.* This stage, however, contains the foundations of one oblong and two circular huts of the several diameters of 18 ft., 24 ft., and 10 ft. (iii.) The third stage occupies the southern angle of the village, and contains a hut-circle 13 feet in diameter. (iv.) The fourth stage occupies the western angle, and is completely covered by the ruins of courts and hut dwellings; of these last the first plan makes out four circular ones, whereas Mr. Dymond's plan shows six, of somewhat rectangular shape—a not very material matter. The little excavation that was done when attention was first called to these remains resulted only in the discovery of calcined stones and a little charcoal. Careful search has been made for cup and ring markings; only three that could at all be ascribed to the hand of man have been discovered—three cups without rings, whose positions are noted in Mr. Dymond's plan. These three cups are rather slender evidence on which to hazard a shot as to the date of the village, particularly as

* It may have been a kraal for cattle.

this

this class of markings range in date from the bronze to the late iron age, and even into early Christian times.

These interesting remains are not the remains of a camp; the site was not selected from any military advantages it possesses; it is, in fact, dominated on three sides by rising ground or projecting knolls, within easy sling or bow shot. It was a fortified village, fortified either against hostile surprise or attacks by wild beasts. The situation may have been chosen on account of the spring of water already mentioned, and also of proximity to a large tarn, now drained, whence fish could be obtained. Mr. Dymond pointed out that the Hugill village was similar to others in various parts of England, and particularly to that of Grimspound, on Dartmoor, a village consisting of twenty-five well-built circular huts, in a squarely oval enclosure of about four acres, defended by a massive rampart of granite 10 feet in thickness, about 5 feet in height, and pierced by three gateways. As at Hugill, so at Grimspound, the inhabitants could be easily annoyed by hostile archers and slingers. The remains at Hugill were about the year 1886 menaced with destruction, to make way for the pipes of the Manchester Waterworks,* but an appeal to the authorities was most courteously received, and the village left untouched. In October, 1896, an alarm was raised that the village was in danger; more, that mischief had actually been done. An appeal for its rescue appeared in a local paper, the *Westmorland Gazette*, and letters were written to several persons likely to be able to intervene. At the suggestion of more than one archæologist, Mr. Dymond, on the 2nd of this month,† revisited the village,

* See a report in these *Transactions*, Vol. x., pp. 271-275. Also printed in Proc: S.A., 2nd Series, Vol. xii., pp, 91-94. This report, dated October, 1886, also mentions that the prehistoric settlement on Threlkeld Knott, near Keswick, "is doomed to ruin, as the cliff on which it stands is rapidly being converted into paving setts." Ten years have elapsed; the cliff is still being quarried away, and the paving setts find a ready market as fast as they can be loaded into the railway trucks.

† November, 1896.

and

and as a result reported to the President of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society that nothing was amiss; that the place was as it was in 1890, when he surveyed it. Personally, the present writer, after allowing for the enthusiasm of the earlier plan, is of opinion that the remains have not been interfered with since 1880, nor for a considerable period anterior to that date. The late Mr. Addison, who occupied the farm for over thirty years prior to 1890, part of the time as farmer, and afterwards as owner in succession to his son, was thoroughly alive to the value of these remains, and protected them during his time. The difficulty is to provide for their future protection. The estate is now in the hands of trustees, and the question arises—How far, in these days of agricultural depression, are trustees and farmers justified in omitting to bring into cultivation an acre or two of land because covered with remains which are *caviar* to the multitude, and which only an expert like Mr. Dymond can read? That recent agricultural depression is responsible for the destruction of many interesting remains working archæologists will soon find out, if they have not already done so. Is there any means of protecting for the future the Hugill village? I fear not. The Act for the Protection of Ancient Monuments is of no avail; the village is not scheduled under it, and cannot now be put under it, as the Act is a dead letter. The Treasury will not find the money necessary for its working, and the Government decline to allow ancient monuments to be voluntarily put under it. It has been suggested that a subscription should be raised and the farmer asked to sublet the field; but to whom, and for how long, and who is to periodically inspect it to see that no damage is done? And to whom is he to report? The only effectual remedy the present writer can see would be an Act of Parliament appointing County Councils protectors of such remains, with power to compensate

pensate farmers or owners, and to appoint officials, who should inspect and report once or twice a year. Competent local antiquaries would readily undertake the work for little more than out-of-pocket expenses. But there is no chance of getting such an Act passed; the compensation would deter people. What would be the compensation to be paid in case of Threlkeld Knott, mentioned in a previous footnote? The landlord of the quarry, the tenant of the quarry, and the skilled workmen would all have claims.

NOTES BY C. W. DYMOND, F.S.A.

The Editor of these *Transactions* has kindly given me an opportunity of adding to my former paper on this subject a few supplementary remarks on certain features of the works.

The Ramparts. When writing that paper—having chiefly in view Grimspound,* one of the best examples of a fortified village of this type—I expressed an opinion that it was "not very clear why these [walls] were of such great and, apparently, unnecessary thickness." There was then nothing to show that the Grimspound rampart had any other than a rectangular section—too thick for economy, and too low for protection. Nor can it yet be said that an apprehended discovery, made two years ago, by an exploring party of local antiquaries, has settled the question as to the original form of its construction. With a strong disclaimer entered by one of the party who is well qualified to form an independent opinion, the majority believe that they found evidence of the rampart having been constituted by two parallel walls separated by a passage 3 feet in width—an arrangement which seems even more inexplicable than the solid wall itself. † Assuming that the two supposed interior wall-faces

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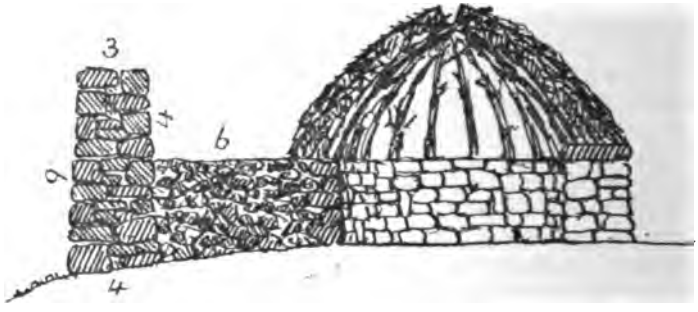
* Perhaps Greaves Ash, in Northumberland, might, in several respects, have been a better analogue; but it could not safely be cited, because I had not seen it, nor did I possess an adequate description of the details of its structure.

† Since these notes were written, I have been favoured by one of the Grimspound explorers with the following additional particulars. He says:—"The appearance of an inner and outer wall having fallen into a space in the centre is very marked. There seems to be no regular face to the *inner* sides of the walls." Again:—"I have obtained less than twenty flint arrow-heads in all the thousands of scrapers, borers, knives, flakes, chips, cores, &c., collected by me on Dartmoor. It all points to a peaceful pastoral people who required folds, not fortifications: and this, of course, increases the puzzle of the wall at Grimspound."

were

were really such, I have been led to query whether they may not indicate that the rampart was built (much after the pattern of those of Worlebury, in Somerset, and of certain camps in Wales and elsewhere, in which the original work remains more or less intact), in three contiguous, but independent, thicknesses, each 3 or 4 feet through: the outer one perhaps 9 feet high, its upper part forming a parapet; the middle one about 5 feet high, its levelled top forming a *banquette* or narrow *chemin de ronde*; the inner one 3 feet high, furnishing a step for easily mounting the rampart. Such a reconstruction gets rid of the most serious difficulties; harmonises the style of fortification with that of the great stone-built strongholds; and enables us to offer a reasonable suggestion as to what may have been the original form of the rampart at Hugill, without setting aside the evidence afforded by its best analogues. Such an hypothetical section (which must be taken for whatever it may be worth)



is shown in the illustration. It represents a parapet-wall 9 feet high on the outer face, 4 feet on the inner, and 3 or 4 feet thick, with a 6 feet walk behind it, raised a few feet above the level of the ground. Easy access to this could be gained at any point by means of a sloping bank of earth. The diagram is completed by a section of one of the huts built against the western portion of the wall. With this mode of construction, the attached huts would offer no obstacle to a free access to the wall behind them.

It is rather singular that the parts of the circuit on the higher ground, toward the north, north-east and east, are just those where the profile of the present bank is the slightest; and it is not evident why these—which, facing up the hill, ought to be much higher than they are—should have been so much more degraded than are the southern portions which, in several places, retain most of their proper height.

Huts.

Huts. The habitable huts, of which traces remain at Hugill, are but few; and the permanent population of the place must have been small. This is the chief difficulty in the way of assuming that the mural cincture was intended to be capable of defence; which implies the existence of a force sufficient to man it. A circuit of 400 yards would probably require at least 200 men and youths to defend it; and, to provide this number, the population, at the time of the attack, should number about 500 souls.

It is most probable that, as at Grimspound, in Devon, Chysoyster, in Cornwall, Tre Ceiri, in Caernarvonshire, and many other places, the walls of the huts would be about 4 feet in height; and that upon them a roof of boughs, covered with turf, would be erected.

In a note on page 9 of my paper* it was stated that "27 feet may be called the standard diameter of hut circles." This I wish to correct; for, where sizes vary so much as they do in these structures, it cannot properly be said that there is such a thing as a "standard diameter."

Cup Markings. † On the occasion of my recent visit, I looked again at these. The 2-inch cup on stone C, first noticed by the late Dr. Taylor, may be artificial. That on stone D, 6 inches in diameter, is not well formed, and part of it is broken away. Much larger than cup-marks usually are, if artificial, which is rather doubtful, it should perhaps be regarded as the remains of a small rock-basin. The cup on stone E is 2½ inches across, semi-ovoid, and so sharply edged that it is questionable whether it may not be the matrix from which a nodule has dropped out. It is very difficult to establish the artificial origin of cups when they occur singly, and in geological formations which often present natural hollows.

Recent changes. I observed only two changes since 1890; both of them in modern work. The stone pile, mentioned on page 10 of my paper, has been thrown down; and the sheep-gate in the south-western wall—probably on the site of one of the original entrances—has recently been built up with materials furnished by a small heap of stones which lay hard by against the inner face of the wall; and which has disappeared.

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* These *Transactions*, vol. xii, pp. 6-14.
† *Ibid.* p. 12.

ADDITIONAL

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY H. S. COWPER, F.S.A. *

Although these remains are not well preserved they are of considerable interest. They represent a small group of which a few other examples are to be found scattered in the district, but stand out I think quite distinct from a much larger series which cover the fells of Furness close by, and which exist I believe in considerable numbers in the higher ground of the Westmorland fells also. This larger group, as far as it is limited to the Furness hills I have described with some completeness and detail in my paper on the "Ancient Settlements, Cemeteries and Earthworks of Furness" in *Archæologia*, vol. 53, p. 409. As a rule this larger class is characterised by very rude walling, which is never of any width, homesteads of rectangular irregular shape and large attendant enclosures. They are frequently associated with innumerable sepulchral cairns which have yielded interments, which with probability belong to the bronze age.

Of the class to which the Hugill site belongs, however, the sites are few in number, or at any rate but few have been noted. Among these we should notice first one at Kirkby Lonsdale, where we find an ovate enclosure containing two-thirds of an acre contained within a wall about 7 feet wide, the foundations of which consisted of stones set on end. Within the enclosure we find the same curved, rectangular, or meandering lines of division. †

The next site with which we may compare Hugill, is that called Urswick stone walls near Ulverston, a full description of which will be found in the paper in the *Archæologia* by myself.‡ Here again we get in the enclosures a combination of rectangular and ovate forms, the enclosure wall built in the same way 10 feet thick, and the lines of interior wall divisions as well as the hut circles.

To the same class also appear to belong the enclosures at Holmbank and Birkrigg,§ both of which are contained by single ramparts or walls, that of the former being again 10-14 feet in width, and containing a hut circle.

My own opinion is that this small group is analogous in character to the Celtic cashels described so carefully in Anderson's "Scotland in Early Christian times, 1879," to which, in plan, they are remarkably similar. These cashels were of Pagan origin, but in Scotland

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* Mr. Cowper's notes are extracted from his Report to the Society of Antiquaries, as Local Secretary for Westmorland.

† See the paper (with plan) by Canon Ware (The Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness in vol. vii. *Transactions* Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society.

‡ *Archæologia*, vol. 43, p. 409.

§ *Id.* p. 396.

often

often had grafted into them, at a later date, a Christian settlement and church. It would appear, however, probable that such sites are part Roman, and at any rate a later type than the numerous ones I have alluded to which cover the wilder and more distant parts of the fells.

After reading Chancellor Ferguson's article in the *Manchester Guardian* of Nov. 16th, I was shocked to read in the papers, the reputed destruction of certain stone avenues, hut circles, and menhirs on Dartmoor, the work it is said of the contractors of the Newton Rural District Council, for the repair of roads. This new danger is, in my opinion, a far more living one towards our lesser early sites, than any destruction by farmers. In country districts at present, the road Surveyors appointed by the Parish and District Councils, are energetic men, with absolute ignorance as a rule of all archæology, and anxious to get stone wherever they can for road repair. In many districts hill roads pass through deserted tracts which abound with early settlements, burial cairns, and small stone circles, or standing stones. Such as these will I fear be considered fair game for destruction and blasting by the road Surveyor for his purposes. In many cases no doubt he will be ignorant as to the origin of the material he uses, and often when he has to apply for leave to a landowner, it will be found that the latter is either equally so, or else is quite heedless as to their destruction. In other cases where roads cross unenclosed moors and commons, such remains will probably be attacked without any leave being considered necessary.

In view of the danger, which, it appears to me, now seriously menaces a large and little known class of early remains throughout the whole of England; I think it would be worth while the consideration of the Society of Antiquaries if some memorandum could not be laid before the proper authorities, whereby the County, Parish, and Rural District Councils could be urged to enforce upon their surveyors the great necessity for care, and, if possible, to devise some scheme by which qualified persons might be asked to inspect where necessary, in order that any such demolition might be reported to the local Antiquarian Societies, who would no doubt in all cases intervene and do all in their power to prevent such vandalism.

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